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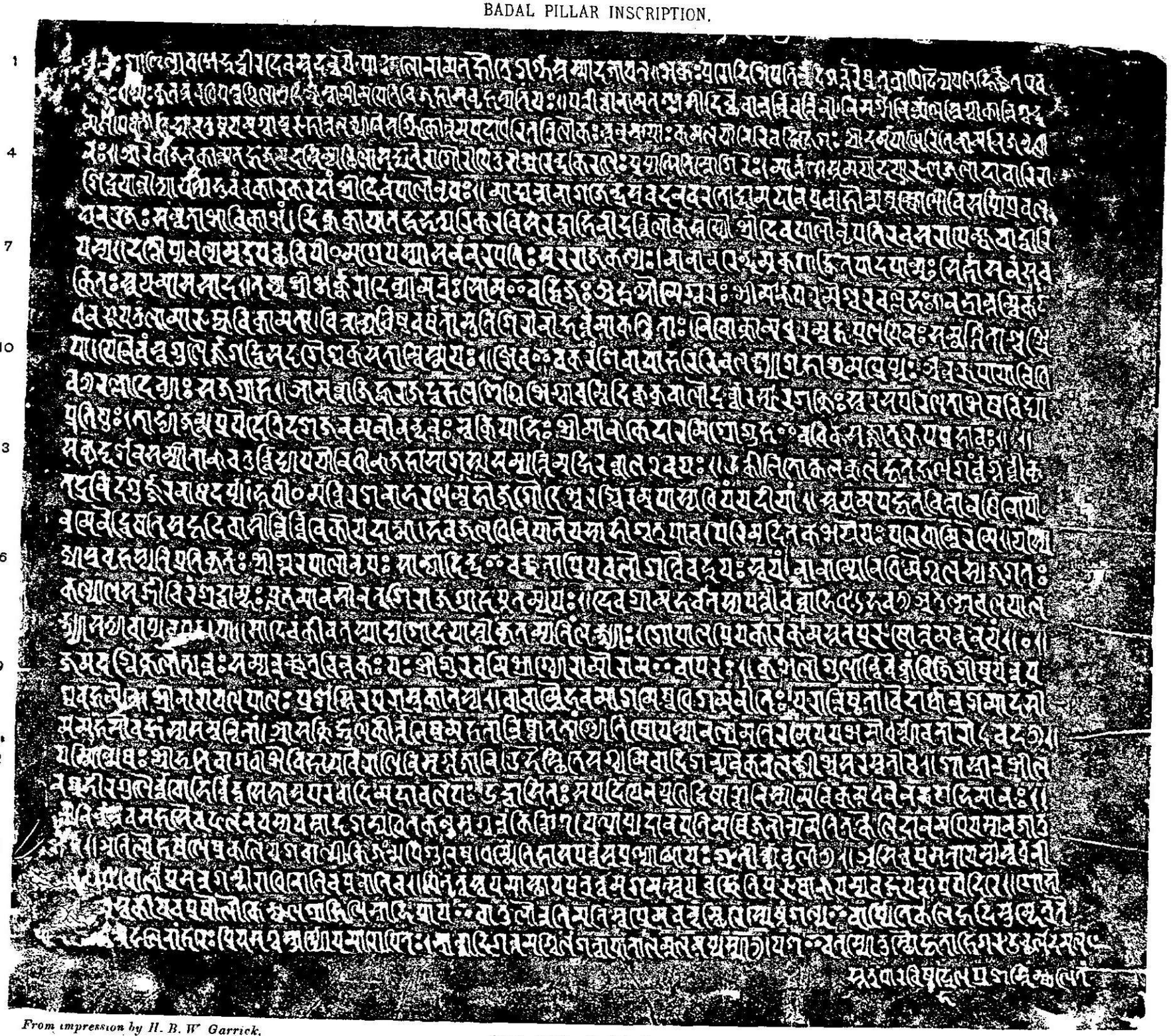
"At the Congress of Orientalists lately held in London the very highest praise was awarded to Dr. Burgess for his share in this undertaking as chief editor. No higher praise could be accorded here to Dr. Burgess than this statement of the value attached to his labours by so many of the highest Oriental scholars."—*The R. I. B. A. Journal*, 22nd December 1892.

PAPERS ON HAND.

Copper-plate grant of Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, dated (Gupta) Saṁvat 158; by A. Führer, Ph.D.
Two copper-plate grants and a stone image inscription of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1208, 1209, and 1210 respectively; by the same.
Further Inscriptions from Sanchi; by Prof G. Bühler, LL.D., Ph.D., C.I.E.
Srîdhara's Verâwal Praśasti; by the same.
The Rock-Edicts of Aśoka; by the same.
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions from the Panjab; by Dr. Paul Horn, Ph.D.
Persian Sanads; by the same.
Chitorgaḍh inscription of Mokala of Mewaḍ; by Prof. F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.
" " of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, Saṁ. 1207, by the same.
Notes; by Professors Bühler and Leumann.
Tables for calculating Hindu dates in true local time; by Prof. H. Jacobi, Ph.D., Bonn.



From impression by H. B. W. Garrick.

Scale: 3-8ths of original.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, p. 160.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
SHIMOGA DISTRICT
Inward

XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pârvatî with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed: two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pârvatî, and the bull, is written *Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva*.[1] The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gâṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*: he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-râja-deva."

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.[2] Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,[3] and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1′4″ broad by 11½″ high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ⅝″ in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

[1] I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

[2] See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

[3] I have to thank my friend Professor Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

Mâhârâshṭrî Prâkṛit. Excepting the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śiváya* and the words *kim=vâpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrî* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshâtaṁ*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, *e.g.*, in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyaṇaishît*), line 10, *dur jjasaḥ* (for *duryyaśaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *ânṛinya*, line 8, and *kârunya*, line 20, and instead of *anusvâra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anusvâra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaliṅga, the illustrious Karṇadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karṇadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṁhadeva in the Lâl-Pahâḍ rock inscription [4] of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant [5] of the *Mahârâṇaka* Kîrtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasiṁhadeva's son Vijayasiṁhadeva in the Kumbhî copper-plate grant [6] of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karṇadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarṇadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant [7] [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state [8] that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaliṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Teliṅgana; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vâmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

[4] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṁhadeva, Jayasiṁhadeva and Vijayasiṁhadeva add *nijabhujopârjit-âśvapati-gajapati-narapati-râjatrayâdhipati*, after *Trikaliṅgâdhipati*.

[5] See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

[6] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

[7] See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vâmadeva .

[8] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripurî or Ratnapur mention a prince Vâmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karṇadeva from his camp of victory,[9] located at a place the name of which looks like Svasâga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son [10] (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahâpramâtâra*[11]) and others, that, having bathed in the river Veṇî, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gâṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, he has granted the village of Susi [12] (or Susî) to the learned Viśvarûpa,—a son of Nârâyaṇa, grandson of Vâmana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vâjasaneya *śâkhâ*, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarâta and Vaiśvâmitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesâla. Karṇadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susî to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Veṇî, near which Karṇadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasâga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangâ of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nâgpur.[13] The villages of Susî and Vesâla[14] I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phâlguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January[15] A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Âśvina-śudi 1 [16]) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Âśvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pûrṇimânta*

[9] The Saṁskṛit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-kaṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya-kaṇṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gâṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

[10] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, where, instead of *mahâdevîṁ mahârâjaputraṁ*, we have *mahârâjñîśrî*(?)-*mahâkumâraśrî-Ajayasiṁhadeva*.

[11] See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

[12] The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

[13] See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

[14] I hardly think that Vesâla could be the ancient Vaiśâlî, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

[15] On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna ended 17*h*. 9*m*. after mean sunrise.

[16] Writing at Nâgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: '*The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Âśvina*; but, opening in the midst of Durgâ's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*saṁvat* 793 *Phâlguna-vadi* 9 *Some*, —is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karṇadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 *h.* 15 *m.* after mean sunrise, and ended 5 *h.* 49 *m.* after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.[17] I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karṇadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*oṁ oṁ*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.[18] It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kârtavîrya, the vanquisher of the demon Râvaṇa;[19] and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kârtavîrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.[20]

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharâja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and to the king Śaṁkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarâja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,[21] I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II. also bore the name Kṛishṇa-vallabha,[22] and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

[17] On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3*h.* 7*m.* after mean sunrise.

[18] The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva, above, page 19.

[19] See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

[20] This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

[21] See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

[22] See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishṇarâja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śrî-vallabha; and it is just possible that *he* may be the Vallabharâja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharâja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Kṛishṇarâja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakûṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakûṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhaṇḍ[23] which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Râhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshâdeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipâladeva of Kanauj[24] for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva[25] was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛishṇa-vallabha. Lastly, the Śaṁkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmî was married[26] by Kṛishṇa-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us[27] that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurî, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas;* and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śaṁkaragaṇa, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,[28] that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Nâṭṭâ or Naṭṭadevî, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavala (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bâlaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,[29] Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva, who married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavala and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarâjadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bâlaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavala) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pâli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarâjadeva, informs us[30] that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

[23] See Sir A Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

[24] See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

[25] See *ib.*, page 124.

[26] See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

[27] See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

[28] *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

[29] See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

[30] See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.

The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarâjadeva's son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṁkaragaṇadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kârîtalâî inscription [31] has preserved the name of Lakshmaṇarâja's wife, Râhaḍâ; and the Bilhari inscription records [32] that Lakshmaṇarâja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarât. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarâjadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva.[33] As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmaṇarâja's daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of Tailapa [34] who restored the Western Châlukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *praśasti*,[35] Yuvarâja was defeated and his capital Tripurî conquered by Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.[36]

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarâjadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gâṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gâṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva,[37] also bore the name Vikramâditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayâga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'[38] Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription[39] he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gâṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Ḍâhâla (or Chedi) by Alberûnî,[40] in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,[41] is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapâla,[39] who had ceased to rule [42] before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gâṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,[43] besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇâvatî, and that at Kâśi or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî [44] represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pâṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kîras and Hûṇas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva[45] makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hûṇa, Gauḍa, Gûrjara and Kîra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

[31] See above, p. 175.
[32] See *ante*, vol. I, page 268.
[33] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.
[34] See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.
[35] See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.
[36] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.
[37] See above, page 6.
[38] I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gâṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Svasâ*]-*ga-samâvâsita* (*cf* l. 33 of the copper-plate).
[39] See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14.
[40] See Sachau's Translation of Alberûnî's *India*, vol. I, page 202.
[41] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.
[42] The copper-plate of Vijayapâla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.
[43] See above, page 6.
[44] See above, page 15.
[45] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,[46] it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nâgpur *praśasti*[47] Udayâditya of Mâlava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇâṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions[48] report of Kîrtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Saṁskṛit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra[49] eulogizes Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhaṇa,[50] who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kâlañjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî[51] and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs[52] in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurî by Lakshmadeva of Mâlava, the son and successor of Udayâditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nâgpur *praśasti*.[53] The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godâvarî;[54] and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghâṭ inscription of Alhaṇadevî, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champâraṇya.[55]

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayâkarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription[56] dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasiṁha had already been appointed *Yuvarâja*. Gayâkarṇa (or Gayakarṇa) married[57] Alhaṇadevî,

[46] See above, page 2.

[47] See above, page 192.

[48] See *ante*, vol. I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogaḍh rock inscription of Kîrtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

[49] See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

[50] See *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

[51] See above, page 2.

[52] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

[53] See above, page 193, verse 39.

[54] See above, page 7, verse 23.

[55] See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champâraṇya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godâvarî river.

[56] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

[57] See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.

a daughter of the king Vijayasiṁha,—a son of Vairisiṁha, who was a son of Haṁsapâla of the Guhila family of Mewâḍ,—and his wife Śyâmaladevî, a daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava. And Alhaṇadevî bore to him two sons, Narasiṁhadeva and Jayasiṁhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasiṁhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,[58] dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasiṁhadeva's reign three inscriptions[59] have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasiṁhadeva married[60] Gosaladevî, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasiṁhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,[61] of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasiṁha's son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Ḍâhâla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śaṁkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Naṭṭâ.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala.
3. His son Bâlaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjadeva I.; married Nohalâ, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.
5. His son Lakshmaṇarâjadeva; married Râhaḍâ. His daughter Bonthâdevî was the mother of the Western Châlukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śaṁkaragaṇadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarâjadeva II.; contemporary of Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gâṅgeyadeva-Vikramâditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberûnî (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapâla.
10. His son Karṇadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhîmadeva I. of Aṇhilvâḍ (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Châlukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayâditya of Mâlava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kîrtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hûṇa princess Âvalladevî.
11. His son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayâkarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhaṇadevî, a daughter of Vijayasiṁha of Mewâḍ and grand-daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlava.
13. His son Narasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

[58] See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

[59] See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216.

[60] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.

[61] See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104.

14. His younger brother Jayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevî.

15. His son Vijayasiṁhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasiṁhadeva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.[62]

First Plate.

L. 1. ओं[63] [॥×] श्रीं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥
निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥[64]—[1].
यद्देधस्थितमव्य[यं][65] प-
2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिस्सि(शि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं ।[66]
सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो[67] यस्य स्फुरंत्यूर्म्मयः [।×]
सर्व्वज्ञान[म×]यो व(ब)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुर्म्मानसो
यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-
3. णवती स्त्रीपुन्निमित्ता ततः ।(॥)[68] —[2].
देवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्रा
हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(बि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्ते(स्ते)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [।×]
दोर्द्दण्डा-
4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाह-
व्याधौतत्यक्तपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववस्व[69] ।(॥)[70] —[3].
यस्य भ्रूभ[ङ्ग×]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्लि[ष्ट]-
5. भावे प्रतिपं[71]
आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खातसृं(शृं)गाग्रभित्तेः ।
आ चः[72] प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीका-
दाम्भोधेर्द्दक्षिणाच्च [स्फु]-
6. रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4].
तद्वन्सप्रभवा[73] नरेंद्रपतयः ख्याता[:×] क्षितौ हैहया-
स्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।
धर्म्मध्यानध-

[62] From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

[63] Expressed by a symbol.

[64] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahârâṇaka* Salakhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228.

[65] This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देधा स्थित°.

[66] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[67] The *akshara* in brackets looks in the impression like डो.

[68] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[69] Read ववन्थ.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

[70] Metre of verses 3 and 4: Sragdharâ.

[71] Read दधति नृपतयः क्लिष्टमारे प्रतिष्ठाम् (?).

[72] Read च.

[73] Read तद्वंश°.

L. 7. नानू(नु)संधितमुखः सखत्स[तां][74] सौत्र(ख्य)क-
श्रेयास(न्म)र्व्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोक्कलः[75] ।(॥)[76] —[5].
सम्यक्सा(क्या)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्म्माय योगाय च
इष्टा-

8. पूर्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥(।)
आनृन्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सद्वंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा
ज्ञानाभ्यासवसान्मुमुक्षपदवीमंतें[77] च यः प्राप्तवान् ।(॥) —[6].
भोजे व-

9. [क्षभ]राजे[78] श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।
स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज×]नि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ।(॥)[79] —[7].
सचिमिवेन्द्र[:×][80] कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।
चन्देल्लवसप्रभवा[81]

10. सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्ज्जनैषित्[82] ॥[83] —[8].
उद्दामदर्प्पद्विषतो जयन्तं क(कं)दर्प्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।
अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-

11. मारम् ।(॥) —[9]
नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्व्वी(र्व्वी) धवलः स राजा ।
वोढु[84] धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].
एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-

12. सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता
भक्ष्यार्थ(र्थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।
चारित्राय ददौ(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह×]ल्यामृतौ
वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभू[दौ]-

13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः पदं ॥[85] —[11].
किम्वापरेण[86] ।
होहिन्ति एत्थ व(वं)से पुरिसा एहइयगारवमहग्घा [।×]
इअ हाविऊण जेणं पालीण परिग(ग)हो गहिओ ॥[87] —[12].
तत्सु(त्सू)नुः ख्यात-

[74] Read श्रद्धत्सतां.

[75] Read श्रीमानभूत्को°.—The word कोक्कलः offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double *l* is correct.

[76] Metre of verses 5 and 6: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

[77] Read °वशान्मुमुक्षुपदवी°.

[78] Originally क्षराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the *aksharas* क्ष and रा.

[79] Metre: Âryâ.

[80] Read शचीमिवेन्द्रः.

[81] Read °वंशप्रभवां सुशीलां.

[82] Read °देवीं स तु पर्यणैषीत्.

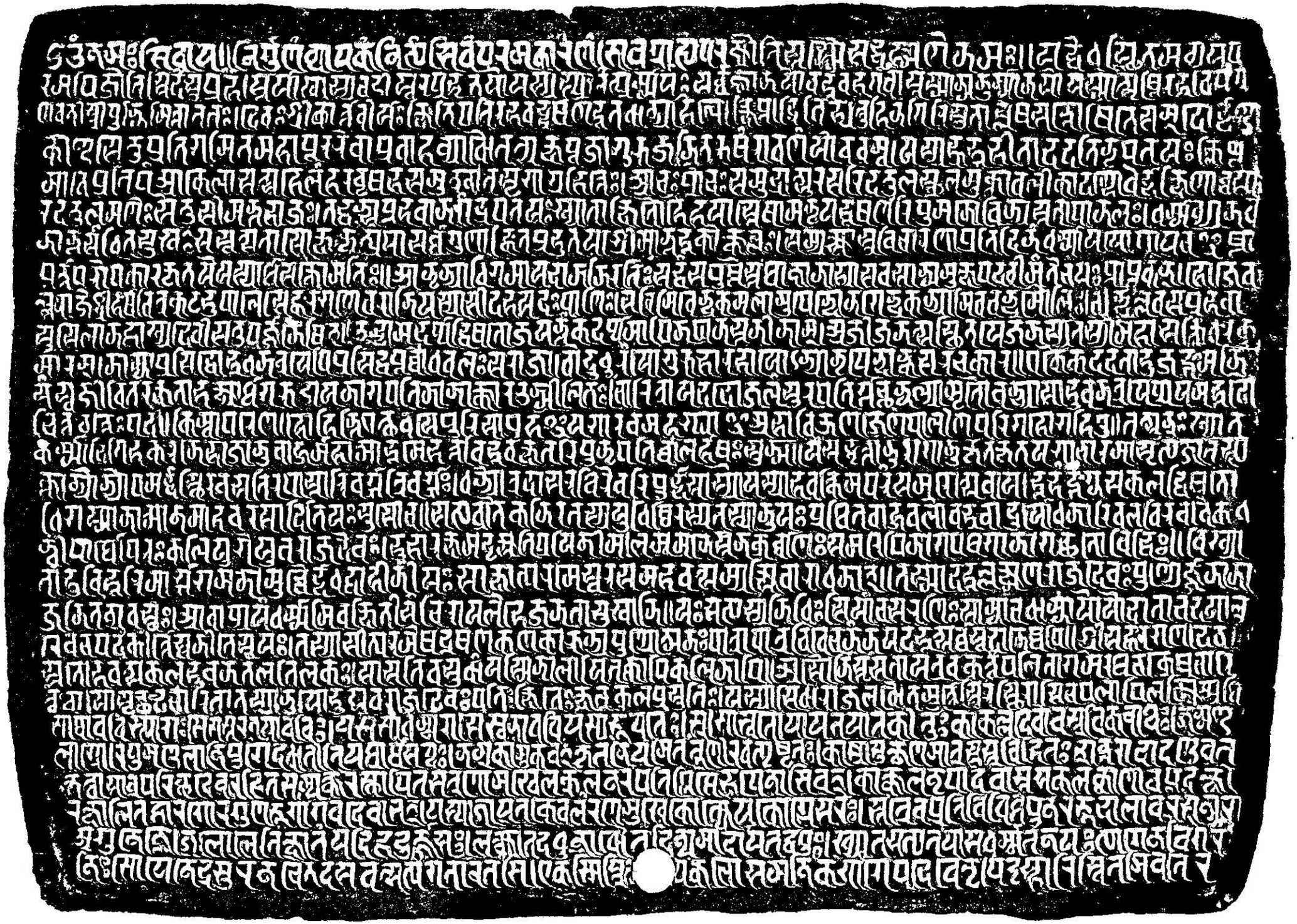
[83] Metre of verses 8-10: Upajâti.

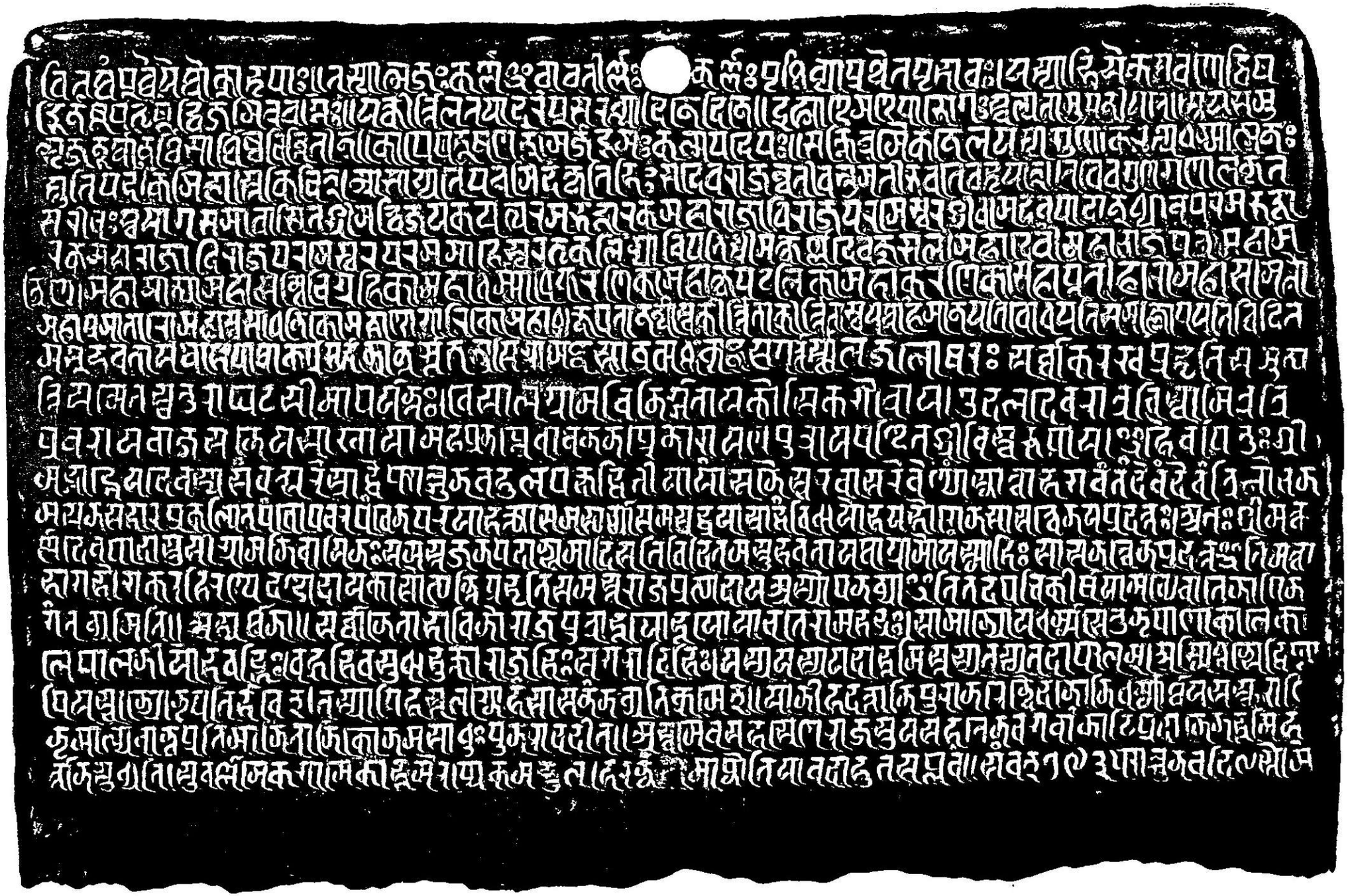
[84] I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वोढु probably should be वीढुं, and the fourth Pâda may be योऽन्यान्नृपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

[85] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[86] Read किं वापरेण.

[87] Metre: Âryâ. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पाली is given as a synonym of दिश् in Hemachandra's *Deśînâmamâlâ*, VI, 37.





From impressions supplied by R. T. H. Griffith, M.A., to Gen. Cunningham.

Scale: 2-3rds of original.

L. 14. कर्म्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा)हुर्महात्मा
भूमेभ(र्भ)र्त्ता व(ब)भूव क्षतरिपुनृपतिर्व्वा(ब्बी)लहर्षः सु[ज×]न्मा ।
यं सहृत्तानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमास्थ(श्रि)त्य जात-
स्य-

15. क्षान्योन्योपमर्द्दं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गः ।(॥)[88] —[13].
धन्योत्र दास(श)रथिरेव रिपुर्द्दसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्क्षिमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।
भ्रूभङ्ग[भ×]ग्नसकलद्विषतो

16. धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति यः सुसोच[89] ॥[90] —[14].
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज): प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव ।
दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17. न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः ।(॥) —[15].
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्स(क्षु)तिप्र[ण×]यिनीमालम्ब(ब्ब)मानस्तन(नुं)
कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्वि[ष×]: ॥(।)
विख्या-

18. तां भुवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्द्दधद्वाहिनीं
यः साक्षात्परमेस्त्र(श्व)र[:×] समभवत्सम्यक्त्रि(क्रि)वाराधनात् ॥[91] —[16].
तस्मादभूल्लक्ष्मणराजदेवः पुण्यौ(ण्ये)र्ज्जनाना(नां)

19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्म्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥[92] —[17].
यः सत्यस्य निधिः स्त्रि(श्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च×] यो
यो दाता च दयालु-

20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तेस्(श्च) नीतेस्(श्च) यः ।
तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[:×] कारुन्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मनः
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सव्वस्वदानेष्वपि ॥[93]—[18].
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-

21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः ।
सा(शा)सति वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनापि ॥[94] —[19].
असौ निस्तृंसता[95]यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [।×]
रथचक्रेषु चारि-[96]

22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥×][97] —[20].
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षितेः क्ष[त्र]कुलप्रसु(सू)तिः ।
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतसु(सू)र्त्तेस्त्रि(श्रि)रं स्त्रिरासि(सी)च(च्च)पलापि लक्ष्मि[98][॥×][99]—[21].
अर्थि-

[88] Metre : Sragdharâ.
[89] Read शुशोच.
[90] Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakâ.
[91] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[92] Metre : Upajâti.
[93] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[94] Metre : Âryâ.
[95] Read निस्त्रिंशता.
[96] *Aritva*, derived from either *arin* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'
[97] Metre : Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[98] Read लक्ष्मीः.
[99] Metre : Upajâti.

L. 23. सा[र्थी]वधिस्त्याग: सेसं सूरजयावधि:[100] ।
यस(श)सा(सां) धर्म्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्व) नावधिर्यस्य भूपते: ।(॥) [1]—[22].
स्रीसास्वतोयायत[2] यातकीर्तु: काकल्लदेवो वस्वधिकनाथ: ।
ज(य)न्मण्ड-

24. लाग्रो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श)व्द(ब्द): ।(॥)[3] —[23].
नम्र[4] कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत: ।
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहित: [भ्रा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [।×]

25. कृत्वा सा[व्र]परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्क[रे] स्थापित
सत्रणामखेल कुल नरपति[यिथेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)[5]—[24].
काकलनृपादवास्तेसकल[क्का]णी[व]पद[6].
क्षी-

26. रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवाभत्[7] ।
यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(क्षे)यकोग्रेसर: ।[8]
स्त्रत्रेव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुखं?] [॥×][9]—[25].

27. अगुनेज्जोजलोलेति[10] क्षातं यदिह दुर्ज्जस: ।
लक्ष्मा तदधुना धौ[तं] दिव्यमादाय तद्दपु: ॥[11] —[26].
ख्यात[:×] सत्यतया स धर्म्मतनय:[12] त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-

28. नि:
सोयेनेद्रसुर[13] न चैतदसवत्स[त्यं] गता[चे]तसि ।
एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो[14] समनिक गांगेयदेवे नृपे
[दृ]स्त्रा रिस्त्रित[मि]व तेर-[15]

[100] Read शौर्यं शूरजयावधि.

[1] Metre Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[2] Read श्रीमांस्तवोजायत जातकीर्तिः कीकल्लदेवो वसुधैकनाथः.

[3] Metre: Upajâti.

[4] I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following:—

नम्रं कार्मुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितभ्रान्तं च दीर्दण्डवत् ।
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं
शत्रूणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

[5] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[6] For the commencement of this line I would suggest कीकल्लाख्यनृपादपास्तसकलक्षोणीविपद°; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

[7] Read °गाङ्गेयदेवीभवत्.

[8] Read °सरस्त्रत्रेव प्रतिबिम्बितं पुनरभूद°; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

[9] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[10] Read अस्त्रुधितीयलोलेति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्यशः ।.

[11] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[12] Read °तनयस्त्यागेन.

[13] I would suggest here शौर्येणेन्द्रसुतो न चैतदभवत्सत्यं मतं श्रीदृभिः, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

[14] Read कलौ समधिकं.

[15] I would suggest reading this line दृष्टं निश्चितमेव तैरवितथं पूर्वं यथोक्ता नृपाः. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishṭhira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gâṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.

Second Plate.

L. 29. वितथं पूर्व्वे येयोक्ता भूपाः ॥[16]—[27].

तस्यात्मजः कर्ण्ण इवावतीर्ण्णः कर्ण्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तपृ(प्र)भावः ।

यस्याभिसे(षे)कस्र(श्र)वणा[द्वि]ष-

30. द्भिर्नष्टं प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्ग्गैः ॥[17]—[28].

यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(।)

व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥[18]—[29].

स्वयं समु-

31. त्सृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥ —[30].

स(श)क्तित्रमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्म्मात्मनः

32. स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् ।

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥[19]—[31].

तवे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-

33. स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग[20]समावासितश्रीमद्विजयकय[21]त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-

(श्व)रश्रीवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-

34. रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रतृ(त्रि)कलिंग्या(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्ण्ण-

देव[:×]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं][22] महामं-

35. त्रि[णो] महामात्या[23]महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्म्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-

णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो

36. महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा×]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष[24]एतानन्यांसु(श्च)

कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितासु[25] यथार्हं मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37. म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [हपाथा][26]कासि[भूम्य][26]न्त[र्ग]त[सु]सिग्रामः साम्र(म्र)मधूकः

सगर्त्तस्थलजलोषरः सर्व्वाकरस्व[नि×]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-

38. त्तिसमेतसु(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।[27]वेसालग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय[28]।[27]श्रोद-

लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रत्रि-[29]

39. प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्वाय ।[27] महप्रनप्त्रे वा[म]ननप्त्रे नारायणपुत्रायं पण्डितश्रीविस्व-

(श्व)रूपाय ।[27] इहैव पितुः श्री-

[16] Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] Metre: Indravajrâ.

[18] Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[20] Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ग) is quite clear; the first *akshara* might perhaps be read स्व, and the second या.

[21] Read °द्विजयकटकात्परम°.

[22] The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to वान्.

[23] What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामात्य। महासन्धिविग्रहिक, etc. Compare, *e.g.*, the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapâladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.

[24] I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word.

[25] Read °कीर्तितांश्च.

[26] The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated.

[27] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[28] Read कौशिक°.

[29] Read श्रीदलदेवरातवैश्वामित्रत्रि°.

L. 40. मद्राङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे[30]स्राङ्गे फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैस्व(श्व)रवासरे वेण्यां
स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं[31]त्रिलोचन-

41. मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र×]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्चासमस्र(श्र)-
ङ्ग(ङ)या स्रा(श्रा)द्धं विधायोभयभोगेन[32]सासत्वेन[33] यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्क-

42. र्णदेवपादा[:×] सुसीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-
(तां) यथा ग्रामोय[34]स्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा

43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासीत्पन्ति[35]प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्योपनव्या[36]इति
तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न

44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥[37]
सर्व्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुनृ(नृं)पाणा(णां) काले का-

45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)[38]—[32].
व(ब)हुभिव(र्वे)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)[39]—[33].
अस्मिन्वन्मे[40]द्वि[ग्नो?]

46. पि यस्स्रा(श्रा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।
तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि ।

47. नृमाल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि[41]तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[42]—[35].
अस्व(श्व)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(सू)यसहस्रेन[43]च [।×]
गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-

48. र्त्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ।(॥)[44]—[36].
सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[कां] भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल(लं) ।
हरन्न[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसम्भवं[45]॥—[37].
संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुनवदि ९ सोमे [॥×]

[30] Read संवत्सरश्राङ्गे. [31] Read देवदेवं.

[32] This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially भ and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °यौदकसर्गेण.

[33] Read शासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः. [34] Read °यमस्माभिः.

[35] I would suggest reading °दायाकरोत्पत्ति°. [36] Read °नेतव्या.

[37] Compare the Kumbhî copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा.

[38] Metre: Śâlinî. [39] Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anushṭubh). [40] Read अस्मिन्वंशे द्वितीयो (?).

[41] Read निर्माल्य. [42] Metre: Indravajrâ. [43] Read °यज्ञतेन.

[44] Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anushṭubh). [45] Read °हृतसंभवम्.

MATHURA SCULPTURES. Plate I.

a

b

AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a).

XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîlâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Âyâgapaṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Âyâgapaṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,[1] which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2′ 8″. At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Triśûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinas are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvânlâl's ancient slab,[2] where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

[1] This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

[2] *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142.

pointed out that on another slab Śesha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Triśúlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stúpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotuu, which the Bauddhas usually[3] place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Triśúla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhâ at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Triśúla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Triśúlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junâgaḍh, called Bâwâ Pyârâ's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumlî[4] (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Triśúla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stûpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyâdharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

[3] An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.

[4] Compare also Dr. Bhagvânlâl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome iii, part 2, p. 137. The *Vishṇu Smṛiti* xliii, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Maṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapaṇḍita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñâna* and *Bhakti Mârgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. Thus we read *Mah.* I, 109, 13—14.

भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षितं[तः] ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥
स देशः . . . . . .

"That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhîshma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts."

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvânlâl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tîrthaṁkaras.[5] The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmans and all Âryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mârga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmans, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Âyâgapaṭas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, *viz.*, that a portion of which has been given in fig. *A* of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.[6] A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr. No. v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

[5] The fact that each Tîrthaṁkara has his *Chaityavṛiksha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratnasâra*, vol. II, p. 708ff.

[6] *Ante*, pp. 195f.

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Âyâgapaṭas.*[7]

From all these specimens it appears that an *Âyâgapaṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Âyâgapaṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists[8] nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapaṭa*, i.e., *ûrdhvapaṭa*, (see, *e.g.*, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshṭhipaṭṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante*, pp. 34f.), *chaturviṁsatitîrthaṁkarapaṭṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavâ Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminâtha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminâtha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavâ Nemeso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot-troops Hariṇegamesî, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.[9] The reading *Nemeso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Neminâthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhâmâ a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text[10] runs as follows:—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाऋद्धया ताम्यन्ती श्लाघयापि च ।
भामा कोपगृहे गत्वा शिश्ये जर्जरमञ्चके ॥ ८ ॥
तत्रायातश्च कंसारिर्व्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

[7] Possibly the word *âyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *âyâgâ*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

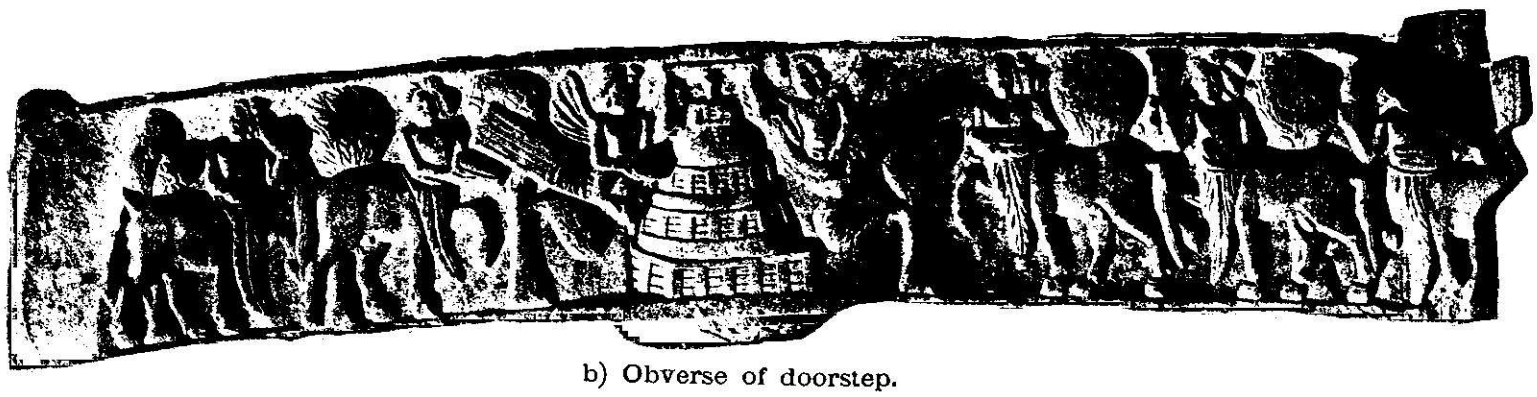
[8] A Buddhist *âyâgapaṭa* was excavated by me in January 1892 at the ancient site of Adhichhattrâ (Râmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihâra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Triśûlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.

[9] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Hariṇegamesî, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasûtra*.

[10] The MS., from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvânlâl Kevaldâs' store of MSS., rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

a.



b) Obverse of doorstep.

c) Reverse of doorstep.

केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[वं] शु[सु]भ्रु ताम्यसि ॥ ९ ॥
भाम्यूचे नास्त्य[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।
न चेन्मे भविता सूनुर्मरिष्यामि तदा ध्रु[ध्रु]वम् ॥ १० ॥
कृष्णत[ष्णस्त]दाग्रहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।
उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तेन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥
आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।
कृष्णोप्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवत्सुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
नैगमेष्यवदय[द्य]स्यां पुत्रेच्छा ते भजेस्व ताम् ।
त्वममुं हारमामोच्य ततो भावीप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
अर्पयित्वा घ्र[ध्र]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।
वासुकं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot.

(9) The foe of Kaṁsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhâmî answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Kṛishṇa undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee?' Kṛishṇa answered: 'Give to Bhâmâ a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vâsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ."

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegamesî, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasûtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahâvîra from the body of the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ to the womb of the Kshatriyâṇî Triśalâ. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegamesî means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasûtra* suggests, "the Negamesî of Hari," *i.e.*, "Negamesî, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negamesî-Naigameshî and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one

ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,[11] which in the *Grihya Sûtras* and the medical *Saṁhitâs* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,[12] particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *leṇa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the Naigamesha or Nejamesha of the Brahmans, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease[13] and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging Naigamesha-Naigameshin of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, Naigameya, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of Naigamesha. This Naigameya is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god Skanda, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahâbhârata*, quoted in the Dictionary, sub voce *naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhâgavaktra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the Nemeso of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.[14] Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of Naigamesha-Naigameshin, the Brahmans substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'[15] and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound Hariṇegamesî, seemingly connected with *hariṇa*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that Naigameshin's position as Indra's general offers another point of contact with Naigameya, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with Skanda, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, Nemesa-Naigameshin's divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of Kṛishṇa), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a Chaurî, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. Nemesa's face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,[16] and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga-*

[11] See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Hariṇegamesî* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böhtlingk, sub voce *Hariṇaigumeshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasûtra*.

[12] For a representation of Naigamesha, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

[13] See, in addition to the passages quoted in the Dictionaries from the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, and the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya*, *Uttarasthâna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

[14] Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brâhmaṇa evince the strongest sexual desires."

[15] I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

[16] Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhâgvânlâl's slab from Mathurâ.

vâ "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tîrthaṁkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavâ* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears ear-rings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sârî*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tîrthaṁkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandâ and Triśalâ. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasûtra*,[17] is briefly this,—" When Indra became aware that Mahâvîra had taken the form of an embryo in the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesî, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahâvîra from the body of Devanandâ to Triśalâ, a lady of the Jñâtṛi family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesî then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrâma, took Mahâvîra from Devanandâ, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Triśalâ's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahâvîra in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandâ and placed Triśalâ's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out."

As our slab represents Naigameshî-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,— probably Indra,— who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription "divine" . . . ., is no doubt meant for Mahâvîra, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Triśalâ, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

[17] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasûtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Triśalâ and No. 3 Devanandâ, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Triśalâ seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasûtra*, where Negamesî is said to have taken Mahâvîra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two relievos on plate II, *B* and *C*, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkâlî mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, *A*, represents the worship of a Stûpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kiṁnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stûpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stûpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stûpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate XXVIII, fig. 1).[18] But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals[19] are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayâ and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a '*syce*,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pâlanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi relievos.[21] Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Toraṇa*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikâs*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

[18] Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

[19] See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Hœrnle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 85ff.

[21] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.

open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teazes by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.[22] In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel ?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pîṭhikâ*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (Pâdukâs ?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (shighram) very similar to that on plate *II*, C., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses ?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Haṁsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the Haṁsa is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyâbha to the Ambasâlavaṇa Chaitya mention them

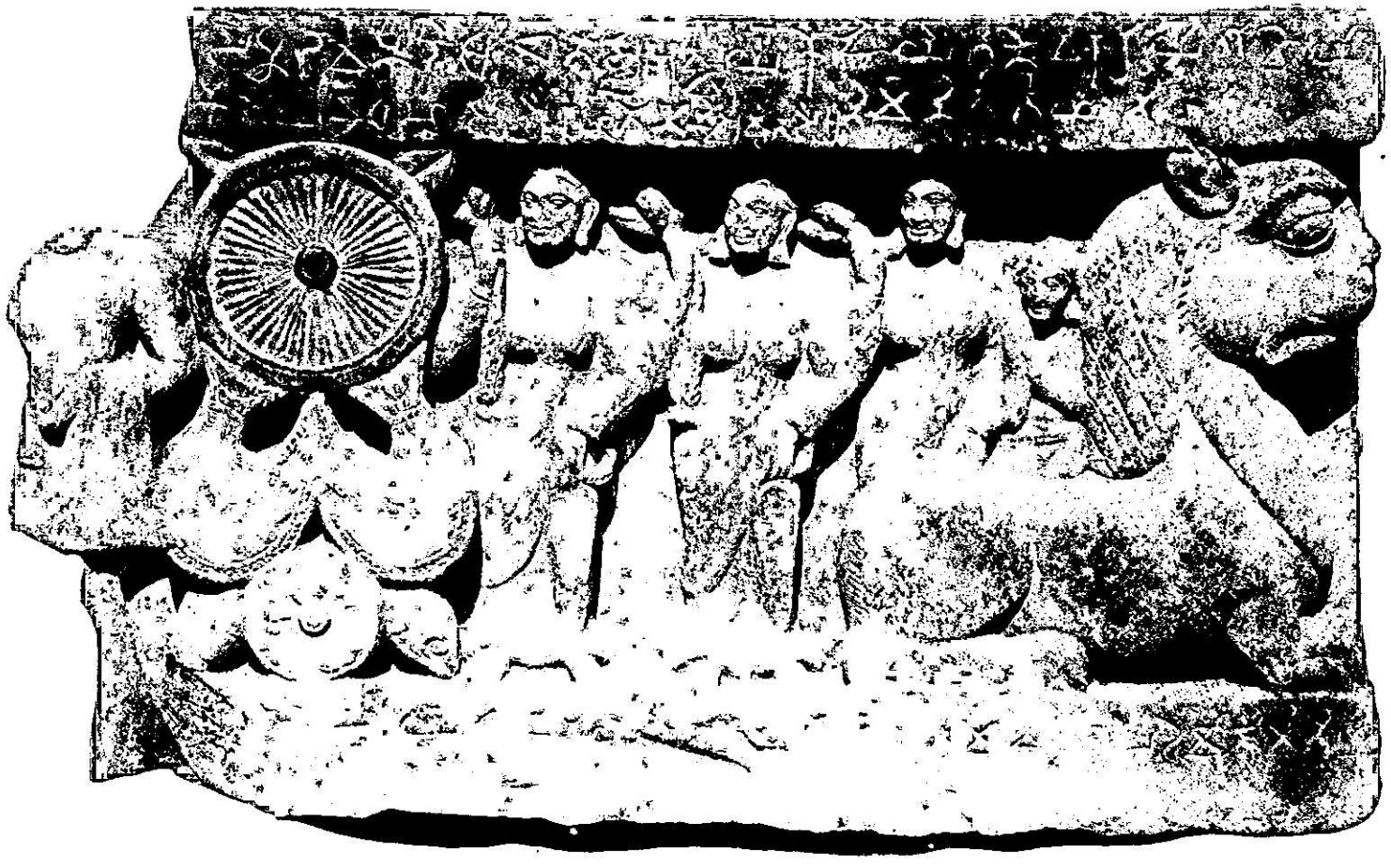
[22] On the Amarâvatî Stûpa, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a Makara's tongue.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

b) Reverse of Toraṇa.

a) Obverse of Toraṇa.

MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES.



distinctly as requisites of worship.[23] Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.[24] Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,[25] where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tîrthaṁkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Toraṇa must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tîrthaṁkaras, to their Stûpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. xxi of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions :[26]—

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as* above, Aya-Vṛidhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* and the Vaïrâ *śâkhâ* gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Ṇandiâvarta (*Ara*) . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinâ (*Dattâ*), wife of . . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Triśûla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarâvatî Stûpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śaṅkhas*,[26] which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

[23] See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Râyapaseṇijja Sutta, Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 500 and *passim*.

[24] See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

[25] *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate[1], Fig. 1-2.

[26] *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 195f.

[27] The Śaṅkhas have probably been added *maṅgalârtham*.

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *râshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, *i.e.*, rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakraṁ pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' *i.e.*, 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahâbhârata* where they occur. It is said of Bhîshma, *Mah.* I., 109, 14:—

भीष्मेण विहितं राष्ट्रे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhîshma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah.* XII, 356, 2:—

यत्र पूर्वाभिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।
नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nâga, lies on the bank of the Gomatî in the Naimisha *forest*, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahâbhârata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharmachakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kaṅkâlî Tîla teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvânlâl's Mathurâ slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archæology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archæological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stûpas or Vihâras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjunî belonged to the Vaishṇava Âjîvikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Leṇas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhaṭṭiproḷu Stûpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.[1]

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows :—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *â*, *â*, *u*, *o* and the consonants, *k*, *kh*, *chh*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ṇ*, *t*, *th*, *dh*, *n*, *p*, *ph*, *b*, *y*, *r*, *v*, *s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *magesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ḍ*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pâsaṁḍa* (Kâlsî version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *aṁbâvaḍikâ*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *d*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.* :—

(*a*) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chhâ*, *ḍha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

[1] See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 148.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ḍa* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghavá*, i.e., *Vyâghrapâd* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chaṅga* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Ṛikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(*b*) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rájá*, Girnâr Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, *minus* the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (*e.g.*, I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majúsa*, i.e., *mañjúshá*.

(*c*) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samaṇa* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Máho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Mágha*, etc.

(*d*) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍála* or *Audâra*, *Gilâṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glâna*, *Gosálakánaṁ* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośálakânâm*, and so forth.

(*e*) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kâlsî version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B,), in the genitive plural *teshaṁ* (VI), i.e., *teshâṃ*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchî inscription. It occurs in the word *pháḷiga*° (I, A,), i.e., *sphâṭika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(*a*) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *á* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvâra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvâra was considered equivalent to *aṁ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mátṛikás*, or the alphabets.

(*b*) The long *á* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamá*, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohâni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ṇi* and *ṇí* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *ṇ*, according to the analogy of *ṇa* and *ṇá*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *í*, *ú*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in °*deśânaṁ* (l. 3) and in *dânaṁ* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Śamaṇudeśânaṁ* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant, exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *goṭhîs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghâṭ, Hathigumphâ and Bharahut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pâṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pâṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *ḍha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhaṭṭiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *sh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *sh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

Transcripts and Translations.

I.[2]

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramâ[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha][3] majusaṁ-nanati phâligashamugaṁ[4] cha Budhasarirânaṁ nikhetu [II].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

[2] Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

[3] Looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

[4] Possibly *phâliyam snamugam*.

TRANSLATION.

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Śiva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*[5])

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

II.

Utaro Pigahaputo kâṇîṭho[6] [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Utara (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*[7]).

III.

L. 1 Goṭhi
2 Hirañavaghavâ
3 V[u]gâḷako K[â]ḷaho
4 Visako Thorasisi
5 Samaṇo Odalo
6 Apaka . Shamudo
7 Anuga[h]o Kuro
8 Satugho Potako [P]oto Âḷinakâ
9 V[a]ruṇo Piga[la]ko Koshako
10 Suto Pâpo Kabherakh[o] [Gâḷo]ko
11 Samaṇa[d]âsho Bharado
12 Oḍalo Thoratiso Tiso
13 Gilâṇo Jaṃbho
14 Puḍara (?) [B]ûbo
15 Gâlavata . . (?) Janako
16 Gosâlakânaṁ Kûro
17 Uposhathaputo Utaro
18 Kârahaputo [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"The Committee (*consists of*) :—

Hirañavaghavâ (*Hiraṇyavyâghrapâd*) Vugâlaka (*Udgâraka*), Kâḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśîrshi*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Âḷinaka (*Âlînaka*?), Varuṇa, Pigalaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (Kauśika?), Suta, Pâpa, (Kabherakha ?) (*Kuberaka* ?), Gâleka (?), Samaṇa[d]âsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audâra*?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilâṇa (*Glâna*), Jaṁbha, ... Bûba . . . Janaka, of the Gosâlakas (*Gośâlaka*), Kûra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Kâraha.

[5] The genitive *sarirânaṁ* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

[6] This seems to be meant for *kaniṭṭho*.

[7] For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *pajâpati*, Sanskrit *prajâvatî* and the inscriptional *bhagapato* for *bhagavato*, *pijite* for *vijite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

[8] Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.

IV.[9]

Sama[ṇadâ]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirâni mahiyânukaṁmâ . . . .

Remark.

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.[10]

L. 1 Goṭhisamaṇo Kubo [।]
2 Hiraṇakâragâmaṇîputo Bûbo [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)."
"Bûba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakâra (*Hiraṇyakâra*)."

VI.[11]

Shaga[ṭh]inigamaputânaṁ râjapâmukhâ[12][।] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako râjâ Shîhagoṭhiyâ pâmukho [।] teshaṁ aṁnaṁ maj [û-]s[aṁ] phâligashamugo cha pâsâṇashamugo cha [॥].

TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shâgaṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shîha (*Siṁha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone."

VII.[13]

Samaṇo Chagha[ña]puto Utaro Ârâmutara . . [॥]

TRANSLATION.

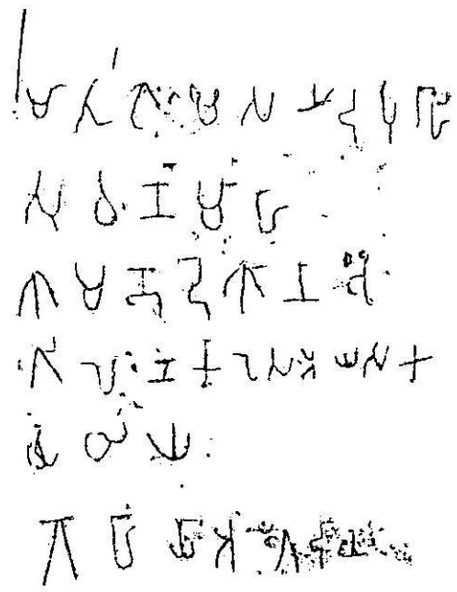
"Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghaña (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*)

VIII[14]

L. 1 Negamâ
2 Vachho Chagho
3 Jeto Jaṁbho Tiso
4 Reto Achino Shabhiko
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Mâho
6 Seṭo Chhadiko Okhabûlo
7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo
8 Samaṇadâsho Sâmako
9 Kâmuko Chîtako [॥]

[9] Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.
[10] Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscripton on the central disc. Possibly *Kûbo* is to be read.
[11] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.
[12] Read °*pâmukhâñaṁ*.
[13] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.
[14] Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

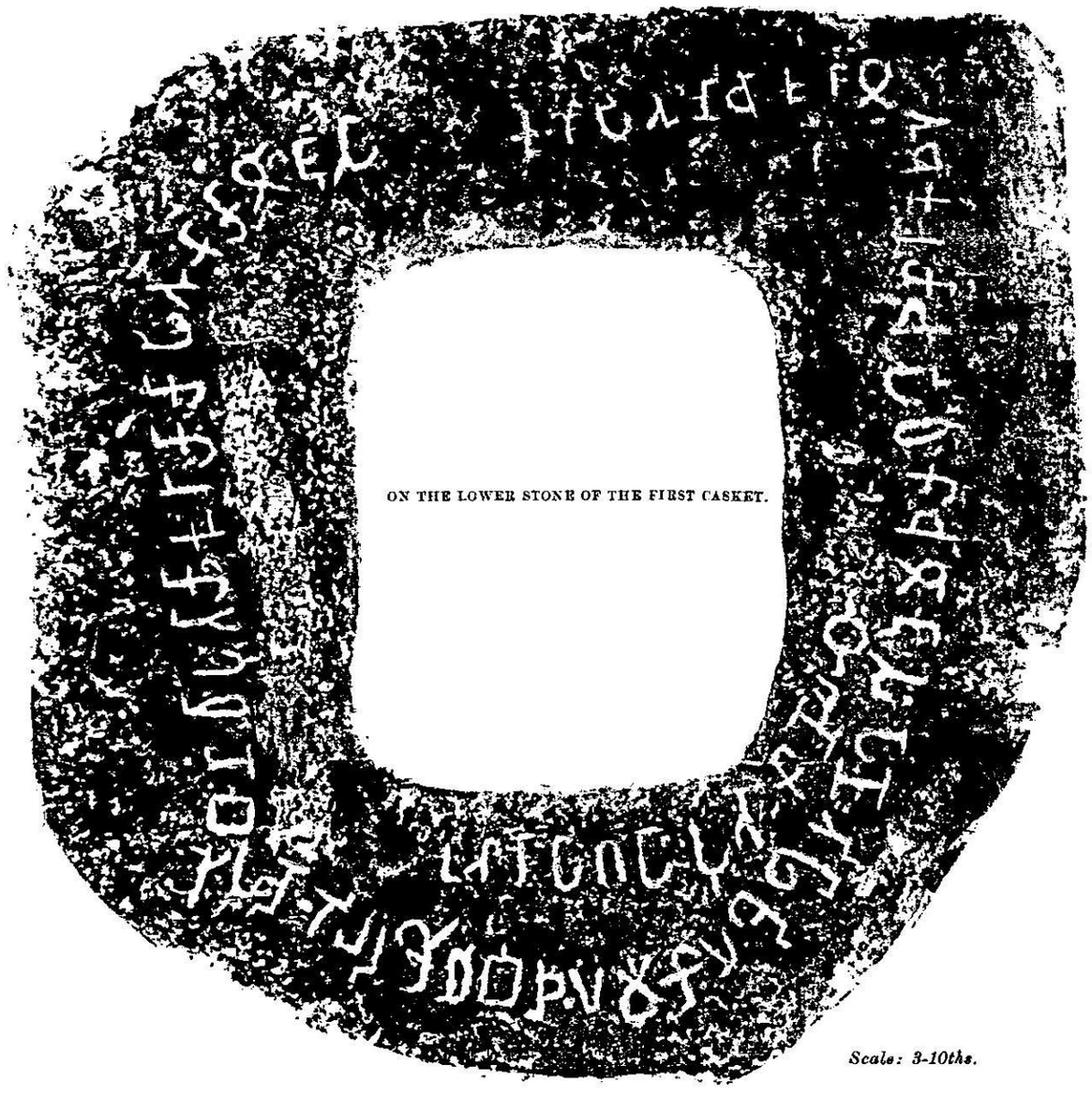
ON THE CRYSTAL.



Full size.

A. Rea, fecit.

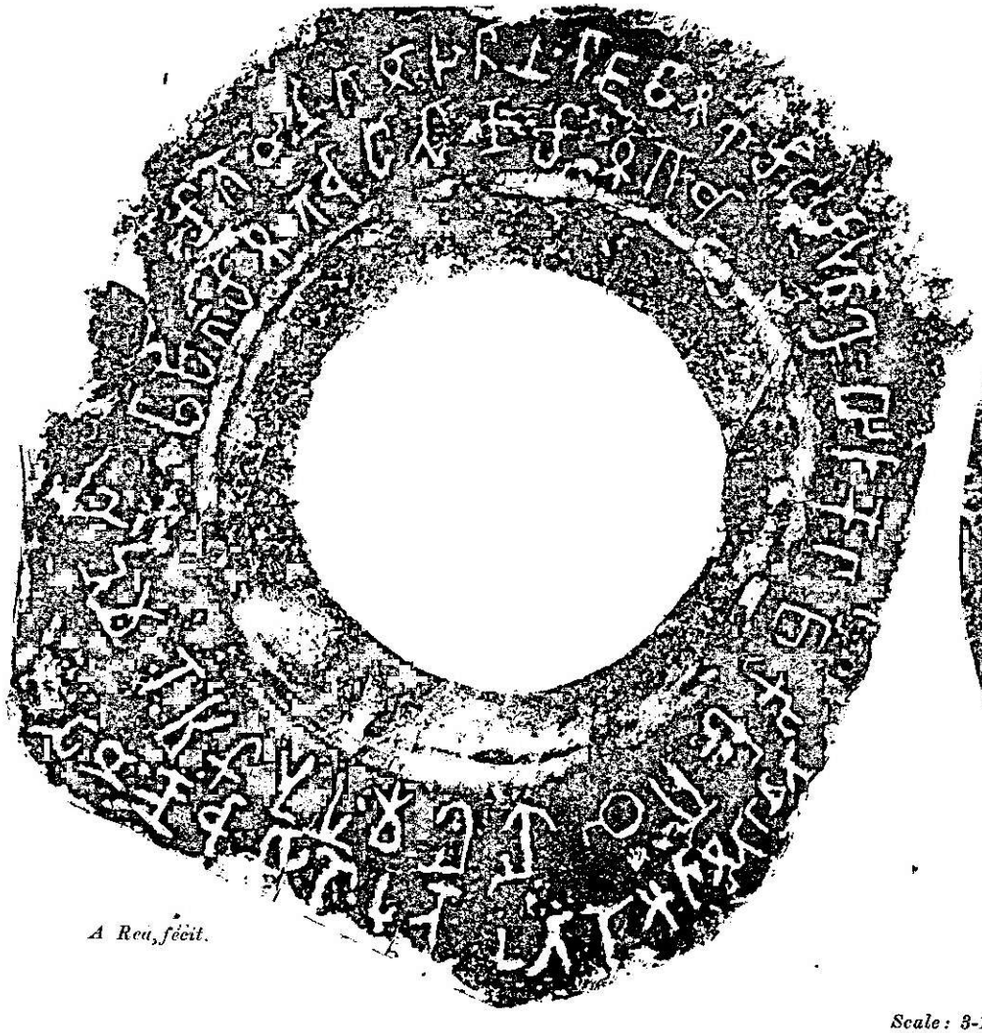
ON THE LOWER STONE OF THE FIRST CASKET.



Scale: 3-10ths.

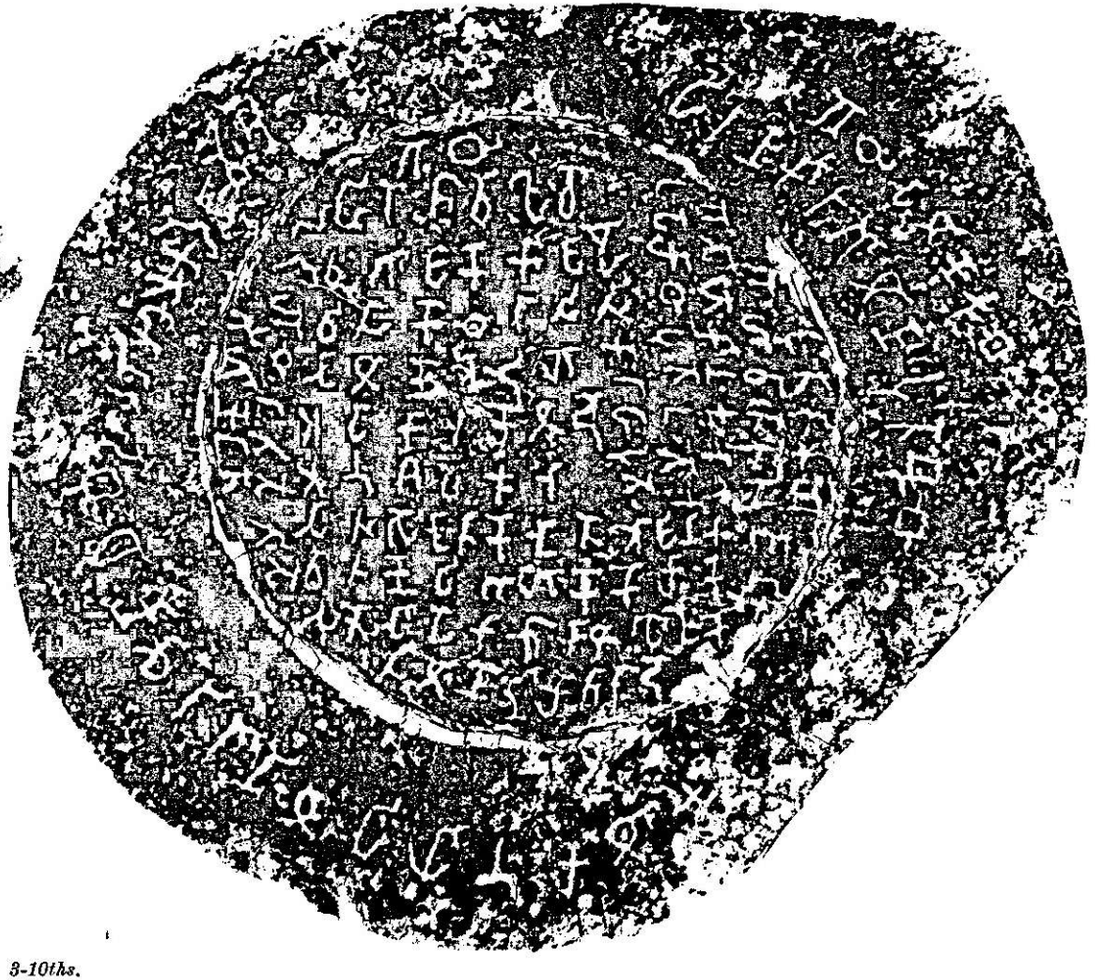
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.



A Rea, fecit.

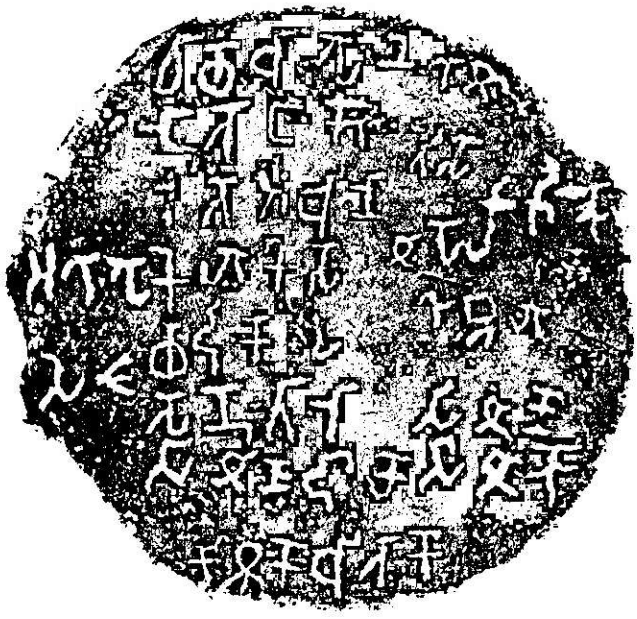
ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



Scale: 3-10ths.

BHAṬṬIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

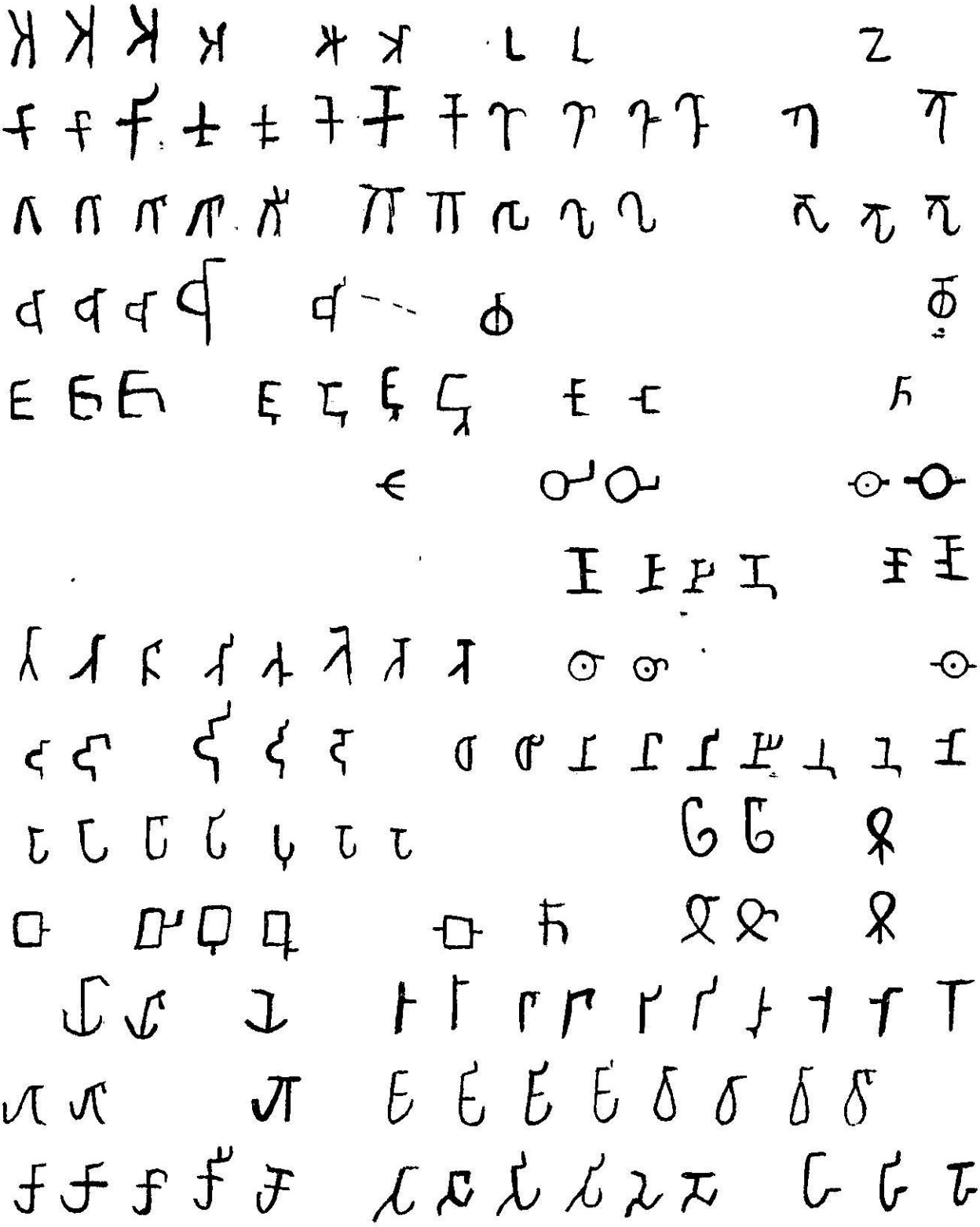
ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET



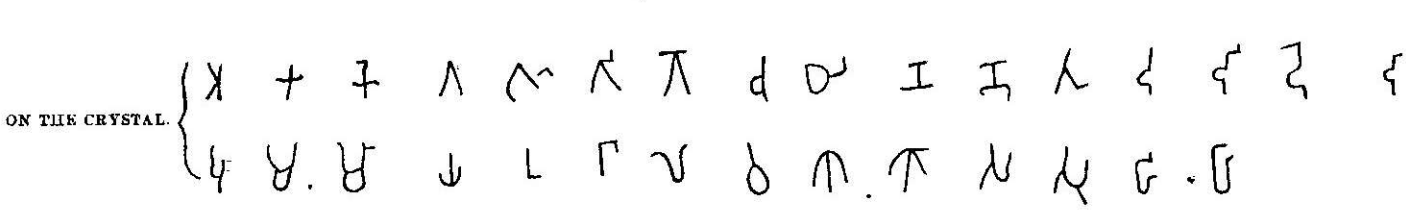
ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.

A. Rea, fecit. *Scale: 3-10ths.*

ALPHABET OF THE BHAṬṬIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.



ON THE CRYSTAL.



J. Burgess, fecit.

TRANSLATION.

"The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (Chaṅga ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jaṁbha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achîrṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Mâha (*Mâgha*), Seṭa (*Śvaitra* ?), Chhadika (Chhandika ?), Okhabûla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samaṇadâsha (*Śramaṇadâsa*), Sâmaka (*Śyâmaka*), Kâmuka, Chîtaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.[15]

Arahadinânaṁ goṭhiyâ majûsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [।] tena kama yena Kubirako râjâ aṁ[k]i [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta, was given*) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

X.[16]

L. 1 Mâtugâmasa [Naṁ]dapurâhi[17]
2 Suvaṇamâhâ
3 Śamaṇudeśânaṁ cha[18]
4 Gilâṇakerasa[19] ayasaka
5 [Sa]ṭhiya[20]
6 gohiyâ a-ga dânaṁ[21] [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrâmaṇeras from Suvaṇamâha, in the *Ayasakasaṭhi gohi* of *Gilânakera* (?)."

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudêśânaṁ* and secondly by *dânaṁ*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dânaṁ* is mutilated and those from *gilâṇakerasa* down to *gohiyâ*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

[15] Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

[16] Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

[17] The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

[18] The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

[19] There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read °*keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

[20] The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

[21] There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *âyâga*. The *da* of *dânaṁ* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.

XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

The Śaka year 1059.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, in the Nawâdâ sub-division of the Gayâ district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.[1] Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1′ 8½″ broad by 1′ 3½″ high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are the peculiar kind of Nâgarî which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla and in the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,[2] which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson[3] palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapâla.[4] In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvâra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

[1] I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayâ District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Mâlî's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

[2] See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

[3] See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

[4] For Govindapâla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.

v and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvâmûlîya* and *upadhmânîya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgâdharo 'bhût* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *oṁ oṁ namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śâka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapâd*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śûribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anusvâra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vaṅśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrî*, line 27, and *âtapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyaṁ* (for *abbhriyaṁ*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrîmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyattau*, line 18, *samvâsâya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitatâra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhârdhaṁ* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girâ* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *âtman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirî* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śaka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgâdhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *praśasti*,[5] or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śâkadvîpîya Brâhmans.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa where the Brâhmans are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,[6] are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

[5] According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgâdhara composed two *praśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

[6] See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Krishṇadâsa.

Śâmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jâmbavatî). According to our author the first of these Maga Brâhmans was Bhâradvâja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dâmodara, Chakrapâṇi, who, compared as he is to Vâlmîki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamâna of the Mâna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihâra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,[7] piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kâlidâsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî[8]] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgâdhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahîdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgâdhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Mâna prince, the king Rudramâna (verse 24); that he married Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagâ (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Mâna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamâna and Rudramâna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgâdhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgâdhara himself, Chakrapâṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita*,[9] an anthology compiled by Śrîdharadâsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brâhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brâhmans lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* also was compiled there,[10] I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrîdharadâsa with Gaṅgâdhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, *viz.* his great-grandfather Dâmodara, his grandfather Chakrapâṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahîdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgâdhara himself the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

[7] See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

[8] The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

[9] See Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

[10] Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler's father, Ratnâsa, lived under Lakshmaṇasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dâmodara the *Saduktikarṇâmṛita* contains two verses,[11] of Chakrapâṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahîdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgâdhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Srîmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapâdâḥ, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dâmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapâṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgâdhara, Mahîdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. ओं[13][॥×] ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥
एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-
मन्यत्र श्रियमुद्वहत्यतिलघुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।
वक्षःसम्मुखसम्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्गोपसर्पत्सुखं
निद्रा[णो] ◡-[14]

2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भरः ॥[15]—[1].
देवो जीयाच्चिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्य दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वङ्गस्तत्र[16]द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्वतः स्वाङ्ग — —[17]

3. शाम्बो[18]यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥[19]—[2].
तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं
बु(बु)द्ध्या व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीणया ।
भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्ब)भूव भुवनोद्धाराभिपातौ[20]तपः
— —

4. यस्य मुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्सोपमः[21] ॥ [22]—[3].
गोत्रञ्च तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वैस्तपोभिरथ सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।
यत्रापरे प[र]मतत्त्वविदोनवद्यविद्यावदातमतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥[23]—[4].
कालेना ◡ ◡ —

[11] The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: *Kailâśa re paśupati; Sîlaṁ śâtayati; Tasyâ nâma mayâ; Yat kâṇḍaṁ gaganadrumasya; Ârûḍhântarayauvanasya; Agre vitatya charaṇau; Âchchhidya Lakshmîm; Iyaṁ sâ Kâlindî; Naikaṁ janma tavaiva; Vandyosau vidhir eva; Lîlottânaśayopi;* and *Kântâreshu karâvalambi.*

[12] From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

[13] Expressed by a symbol.

[14] The *akshara*, here broken away, was probably त्र.

[15] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[16] Read वंशस्तत्र.

[17] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably मुक्ताः.

[18] Read शाम्बो for साम्बो.

[19] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[20] This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the *akshara* भि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपातौ.

[21] Read °तंसोपमः.

[22] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[23] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 5. विलुप्तविलसद्विद्याधने धन्विनां
वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवद्दामोदरस्यात्मजः ।
यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्थि[ते]-
[24]र्व्वङ्गस्या ◡ ◡ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणिग्रामणीः ॥[25]—[5].
अतिस्थिरा पृथु . . . -[26]
6. त्कीर्त्तिर्गरि[माख्य]दं ।
दिक्चक्रं यदि नारूढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथं ॥[27]—[6].
जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ
मारीचादिव कस्य(श्य)पादुपचितां धर्त्तुं कुले सत्क्रियां ।
ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययौ]-
7. र्विद्या[चा]रशुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्या पवित्रं जगत् ॥[28]—[7].
मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरखिलोद्गीतैः स्वकर्णश्रुतैः
सन्मित्रोपगमेन तैरतिभृतैर्भोगैरयत्नोप[गैः] ।
भ्रात्रोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस्र(श्र)यै-
8.
श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रोप्यदभ्रो गुणः ॥ —[8].
तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरामौ ।
सौहार्दहृद्यचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न स्खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥[29]—[9].
9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यत्नात् प्रतीतात्मना
सम्वासाय[30]नरेश्वरेण शिविरी[31]श्रीवर्ण्णमानेन तौ ।
तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य(ब्य)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं
काञ्चित् कोटिमनुत्तरां गुणभुवः कीर्त्तेर्विभूतेरपि ॥[32]—[10].
आ
10. सि[न्धोर्ग]णनीयगौरवगुणेनैकेन [से]व्येनयो-
स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्म्महीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।
अन्येनापि पुनर्म्मह[ल्ल]कधुरा[33]व्यस्तेति[34]विस्तारिणा-
वेतौ सत्वनयैर्व्व(र्व्व)भूवतुरिह प्रज्ञैकविज्ञानिकौ ॥ —[11].
गत्वा श्री-
11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्दयः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वम्विततार[35]तर्प्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितै-
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ —[12].
सात[त्या]-

[24] Read °र्व्वङ्गस्या. The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

[25] Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

[27] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[28] Metre of verses 7 and 8: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[29] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read संवासाय.

[31] One would have expected the neuter शिविरं.

[32] Metre of verses 10—12: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

[33] The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like स्त.

[34] This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be °धुरावमिति.

[35] Read सर्वस्वं विततार.

L. 12. नित्यकृत्या[हु]तिभिरर्चितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।
एनः स्वेनोज्जगार त्रिजगति विदितादाश्रया[न्य]त्वदोषा-
दिद्धं धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिरान्निष्कृतं हो-

13. मवह्निः ॥[36]—[13].
श्वेताद्रिं तं श्रयति [पितृभी]त्यात्मनो [निस्पृ(ष्पृ)भार्धं][37]
धत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिमुन्मुक्ततर्कम् ।
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभोः कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-
र्भ्रान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्धर्म्मकीर्त्तिः ॥[38]—[14].
यस्य श्रीमग-

14. धेश्वरो [नयवशा]च्चोतिप्रयोगाग्र[ख]ल-
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरचुम्बि(म्ब)तमतिर्व्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।
राजाख्यानसरःसरोरुहमिति स्वैरं पुरः क्ष्माभृतां
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैतालिकैः ॥[39]—[15].
यः सन्मन्त्रिषु चा-

15. तुरीपरि[च]यैर्व्वाचस्पतिः प्रस्तुत-
प्रज्ञासर्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चरि[तै]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।
सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृहं र[त्न]त्रयीतात्त्विको[40]
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः[41] ॥—[16].
स्मेरापारपरोपका-[42]

16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-
व्याहारैर्ज्जनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरुः ।
धौरेयः सुधियां सुधानिधिकलामौलेः सदाराधन-
ध्यानेन जन्म निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].
पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य क्ष-

17. तिनश्चारित्रमु[द्रा]पदं
[घौ]डीदेशनरेशशुद्धसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा[43] ।
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुरि[44]
श्रीमत्शङ्कर[45][आ?]वि[रं]कुर[यि]तुं सत्पुण्यबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18].
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदुचितं तेनैव तौ दं-

[36] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[37] This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

[38] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[39] Metre of verses 15—19: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[40] The *akshara* in brackets, in the original, is त्र rather than व.

[41] Read °न्दर्भगर्भे°.

[42] The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to स्मेरोपा°

[43] The first *akshara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either घौ or धौ. Originally सचव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

[44] I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akshara* आ another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

[45] Read श्रीमच्छ°.

L. 18. पती

सम्यत्तावपि[46]नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।
मामाराधयतन्मधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां
गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].
सुप्रीतयोर्भ(र्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-
19. रित्यनुशासनेन ।
स्वाराधितस्मरहरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥[47]—[20].
गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः शैशवाद्विश्वजनीनवृत्तः ।
विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-
20. न ॥[48]—[21].
अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।
आशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दशरथात्तु ॥[49]—[22].
सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिक्षाभिरुद्भासिताः
सज्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्तविशदाश्छन्दोवि-
21. धौ साधवः ।
[ख्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-[50]
द्वेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(बि)भ्रति भ्रातरः ॥[51]—[23].
तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।
स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवद्द(द्व)लादमित्रा-
22. म्बु(म्बु)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥[52]—[24].
पाणि[र्द्दानचणः प्रभौघ]लह[री] वक्त्रञ्च यस्य स्वयं
मर्यादास्थितिमान्स एव जगतां जीवातवश्चेत्कृताः ।
तत्किं कल्पलताद्यहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुद्वयी
पद्मेन्द्र[53]निधयोऽप्यसामिति विधेर्द्विक् प्रक्रि-
23. यागौरवं ॥[54]—[25].
सूक्ष्मं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]
व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वशि भ्रान्तिषु ।
क्षीराब्धी[न्दु]सुधादिषु[55]प्रभवति ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगर्भा(र्भा)द्द[हि]-
र्निर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्य[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं[56]यद्यश-
24. : ॥ —[26].
युद्धे व(ब)द्धोत्सवरिपुभटश्रेणि[सिद्ध]: सदा यो
व(ब)न्धुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।
श्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं
पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥[57]—[27].
आचाराभ-

[46] Read संयत्तावपि.
[47] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[48] Metre: Upajâti.
[49] Metre: Gîti.
[50] Originally धि was engraved, instead of धी.
[51] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[52] Metre: Vaṁśastha.
[53] Read पद्मेन्द्रौ.
[54] Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[55] Read क्षीराब्धी°.
[56] Read यथेच्छ°(?).
[57] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

L. 25. रणः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरत्नापणः
प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।
यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य मुख्यो विधि-
र्द्वीरत्वेनवधिर्व्विधूतवितथव्याधिर्द्दियां सेवधिः ॥[58]—[28].

26. गौ-
डराजसुहृदो जयपाणेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।
आत्मजामुदवहत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥[59]—[29].
आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन्न हीनाङ्गना
रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न्न गणितास्ता

27. गोत्रभित्सङ्गयाः ।
अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्व्वि(र्व्वि)भ्रतो-
स्तत्रायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्द्दाम्पत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥[60]—[30].
सन्तोषार्ज्जवधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिक्षमा-
मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।
दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्सर्यमायामद-
द्वेषेर्ष्यादिनिसूदनस्य चरितं यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].
तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्रकृत्वः कृत्यं स्वभर्त्तुरुचितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29. आवा(बा)[ख्य]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(ब)न्धुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥[61]—[32]
[य]स्याद्वैतगतेः[62]स्वयंविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वश्रमः
स व्र(ब्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोथवा ।
भाव्यः शू(सू)रिभिरेव[63]चित्रकवि-

30. तायास स्तुती दुस्करे[64]
भारत्याः कुरुतेपरान्निजगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥[65]—[33].
धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विसृत्वरतरुप्रासादसद्मादिक-[66]
व्यक्ताकारकदम्ब(म्ब)मम्ब(म्ब)रमनु स्वेनोद्भवत्यब्भि(ब्भि)यं ।
स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्व्भा(र्भा)वा-

31. यथेदं तथा
मत्वैव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्म्मधर्म्मादरः ॥ —[34].
पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना
कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता शुभ्रातपत्रं जगत् ।
कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

[58] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[59] Metre: Svâgatâ.

[60] Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन वृषं

[61] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[62] Originally तथा° was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.

[63] Originally शूर° was engraved, but the sign for *i* has been added afterwards.

[64] Read दुष्करी.

[65] Metre of verses 33-35: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[66] The second *akshara* of this line originally was clearly सा, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा.

L. 32. सच्छायाभृतामम्बसां
यस्मिन्नूर्म्मिमिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तन्नरीनृत्यते ॥ —[35].
स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।
शुभ्राम्ब(म्ब)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥[67]—[36].
आकाशः पवनः कृशानुरुदकं धात्रीति लोकत्र-
33. यो-
मूर्त्या व्र(ब्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।
नेत्रश्रोत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-
दुच्चिद्रां मुदमान्तरेषु[68]कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥[69]—[37].
क्व शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः
कवी-
34. नां पन्थानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।
स्वपूर्त्ते त्वेतस्मिन् सुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः
प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥ ॥[70]—[38].
नन्देन्द्रियाभ्रेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजश्चोद्धरणस्य नम्ना ।
इमां शि-
35. लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुच्चखान ॥[71]—[39].
शाक १०५९ [॥×]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatî !

(*Verse* 1.) May the supporter[72] of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !—who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,[73] whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa where the Brâhmans are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,[74] whom Śâmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts[75] familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

[67] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[68] Read °मन्तरेष.
[69] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[70] Metre: Śikhariṇî.
[71] Metre: Upajâti.
[72] *i.e.*, Vishṇu.
[73] *i.e.*, the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.
[74] The story told in the *Purâṇas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Vishṇu-purâṇa* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.
[75] In connection with *vyâpṛita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.

sage Bhâradvâja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . . like a garland of the great race of the Maga twice-born.

(*V.* 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . . , were headed by Chakrapâṇi, the son of Dâmodara. Like Vâlmîki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,[76] how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marîchi so to Chakrapâṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varṇamâna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Mâna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratîhâra*,[77] while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha[78] went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,[79] eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

[76] The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapâṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

[77] Literally 'door-keeper.'

[78] The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

[79] The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two ver' *vitatâra* and *âpa* are in no way connected with each other.

times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(*V.* 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.[80]

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,[81] was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṁkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents[82] who had well worshipped the destroyer[83] of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

[80] Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yaṁ* instead of *taṁ*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

[81] I am not certain what *ratnatrayî* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddhu*, *dharma* and *saṁgha*, with Jainas *samyagdarśana*, *samyagjñâna* and *samyakchâritra*.

[82] The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

[83] *i.e.*, Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(*V.* 22.) After him came another son, named Mahîdhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshâs*, well acquainted with the *Jyotisha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedâṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Mâna princes, the king Rudramâna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,[84] of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgâdhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgâdhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi who bore the title of *âdhikârika*,[85] a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagâ.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgâdhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nârâyaṇa,

[84] Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.
[85] *i.e.*, 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(*V.* 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitaśata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.[86] Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgâdhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in Gaṅgâdhara's words.[87]

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śûlapâṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

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[86] Instead of the Abl. case *apunarbhâvât* I should have expected the Dat. case.

[87] Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgâdhara's words.'

XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6′ broad by 1′ 2½″ high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾″. The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena,[1] and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsaḍ inscription,[2] Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parâkkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryeṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsaḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmânîya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal is used in *siṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṅśuka*, line 5, and *nistriṅśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśchit*, line 2, °*bhânsi* and *yaśânsi*, line 5, and even in °*prîtin=surendrâ*°, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (*e.g.*, in °*parâkkramakkramapadâkkrântattrilokî*,° in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrî Âdisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvâra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhnuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achîkarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prârabdhî*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

[1] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII.
[2] See *ib.*, p. 202.

line 7, *vyutthânika* (derived from *vyutthâna* as *vijñânika* is from *vijñâna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisiṁha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśâlmali, Chhiṅgalâ, and Nabhûtîshaṇḍaka.[3] Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamâna, Śrîdhautamâna, and Ajitamâna[4]—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyâ to Tâmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśâlmali (verses 4—5). While[5] they were there, the king Âdisiṁha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,[6] and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagaka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamâna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrîpaṭṭa*[7]) on him, but also, at Udayamâna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśâlmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamâna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *râjâ*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17-19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrîdhautamâna and Ajitamâna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhûtishaṇḍaka and Chhiṅgalâ (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved[8] to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśâlmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamâna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamânadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;[9] nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tâmalipti (Tâmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyâ, is the modern Tamlûk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

[3] So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhûtishaṇḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhûtishaṇḍaka*.

[4] These names are given below.

[5] The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

[6] This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prârabdhî-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prârabdhi* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody;' and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabâhu's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kauṭumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

[7] See Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasûtra*, quoted above, the word *śreshṭhin* is explained by *Śrîdevatâdhyâsita-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhûshitottamâṅgaḥ;* what the king gave to Udayamâna was apparently such a *śrîpaṭṭa*.

[8] Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

[9] The names of *Udayamâna* and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varṇamâna* and *Rudramâna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.[10]

TEXT.[11]

L. 1. [ओं[12]]

श्रीरात्मदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगी[न्द्रफ]णामणिस्थं[13] ।
ई[र्षाकु]ला कर[तलि]न हरेऽप्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [श्रि]ये वः ॥[14]—[1].
व(ब)भूव पूर्व्वमगधाधिराजः श्रीआदिसिङ्होरिगजै[क]सिङ्हः[15]।
पराक्रमैर्यऽप्रथितोद्वितीयः

2. श्रीमज्ज[रास]न्ध इव द्वितीयः ॥[16]—[2].
अस्याश्च[म×]रशालमल्याञ्छिङ्गलाय[न्त]यैव च ।
नभूतीष[ण्ड]के चापि व(ब)भूवाधिपतिऽपुरा ॥[17]—[3].
अथ कस्मिन्श्च[त्र]मये[18] वणिजो भ्रातरस्त्रयः ।
तामलिप्ति[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्व्वम्वणिज्यया[19] ॥ —[4].
भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावासं यियासवः ॥(1)

3. प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].
सुवर्णमणिमाणिक्यमुक्ताप्रभृति यैर्द्धनं ।
वित्तपस्यईयेवासीदपर्यन्तमुपार्ज्जितं ॥ —[6].
सर्व्वभूताश्रयास्त्यदयादाक्षिण्यशालिनः ।
स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य त्रयः क्षितिमुपागताः ॥ —[7].
केलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4. मलिनश्चन्द्रस्तुषाराचलः
प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्येव हि ।
तारल्यञ्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो
येषामत्र व(ब)भूव निर्म्मलगुणैः शीलस्य नैवोपमा ॥[20]—[8].
दातृत्वेन समो व(ब)भूव न पुरा कर्णोपि येषामसौ
शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्[21]

5. नैवार्ज्जुनस्तुल्यतां
ये चासह्यपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तत्रिलोकीतला
वीरानाहवमूर्द्धसु प्रव(ब)लिनऽपङ्कनिवोच्चिक्षिपुः ॥ —[9].
दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यश्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्कानि[22]।
अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुषारभान्सि[23] सर्व्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशा[न्सि] येषां ॥[24]—[10].
विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

[10] See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.

[11] From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

[12] Expressed by a symbol.

[13] The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.

[14] Metre: Indravajrâ; but the third Pâda of the verse is as if the metre were Vasantatilakâ.—Compare Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, verse 41.

[15] Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंहो and °सिंहः.

[16] Metre: Upajâti.

[17] Metre of verses 3-7: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[18] Read कस्मिंश्च°.

[19] Read पूर्व्वं व°.

[20] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[21] Read °गमन्नैवा°.

[22] Read °विकटांशुकानि.

[23] Read °भांसि and यशांसि.

[24] Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakâ.

L. 6. अपि न [स्मयान्धा] नम्राः सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्त्तिभाजः[25]।
निस्त्रिङ्गनिष्ठुरकराः[26] [क्र]पयाकुलाश्च ये चार्थिकल्पतरवः शिवशौरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11].
स श्रीमानादिसिङ्घोथ[27] कदाचिदटवीमिमां ।
प्रारब्धी(ब्धी)खेलनोद्युक्तऽप्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥[28]—[12].
आदिदेश

7. समाहूय स पल्लीक्षितयाज्जनं ।
यूयमद्यावलगकमस्मभ्यं[29] ददताखिति ॥ —[13].
अत्रत्यस्तन्समाकर्ण्य[30] [तूर्ण्ण]म्व(म्ब)लपरिग्रहः[31] ॥(।)
वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठमुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14].
राज्ञोवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थ्य प्रयत्नतः ।
प्रेषयामास तन्मोपि[32] वल्लभोभून्महीपतेः ॥ —[15].

8. अल्पैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(ब)न्धमधिगम्य ततः क्रमेण ।
श्रीआदिसिङ्घनृपतिम्परिवो(बो)ध्य[33][ते]न [स]न्मानितो[34]भ्रमरशाल्मलिपल्लिलोकः॥[35][16].
तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशाल्मलिवासिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाऽप्रणम्य ।
राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पल्लिमेतामित्या-

9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चैः ॥ —[17].
एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते
तस्मै राज्यपदन्ददुः क्षितिभृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।
सोस्मिन्विक्रमखण्डितारिसुभटश्रेणिः श्रुतार्थश्चिरं
राज्यन्निर्ज्जितसर्व्वपल्लिरकरोन्नाम्नोदयाख्यो नृपः ॥[36] —[18].
यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्यार्ज्जितां

10. कीर्त्तिश्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि सोत्कण्ठिताः ।
गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकृतप्रीतिन्सुरेन्द्रालय-[37]
प्रान्तप्रोत्थितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].
आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।
पल्लीद्वयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज्ज सः ॥[38]—[20].
श्रीमाच्छ्रीधौतमानाख्यः[39] प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-[40]

[25] Read चोन्नतम्°.
[26] Read निस्त्रिंश°.
[27] Read °सिंहोथ.
[28] Metre of verses 12-15; Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[29] Originally °स्मभ्यो was engraved, but it has been altered to °स्मभ्यं.
[30] Read °स्तत्समा°.
[31] Of the *aksharas* in brackets the upper portion is broken away.
[32] Read तं सोपि or तन्मोपि.
[33] Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°; and read °सिंह°.
[34] Read संमानितो.
[35] Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakâ.
[36] Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[37] Read °प्रीतिं सुरे°.
[38] Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anushṭubh).
[39] Read श्रीमाच्छ्री°.
[40] The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11. षण्डके ।
वश्यात्मोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमचीकरत् ॥ —[21].
प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपखण्डितामित्रमण्डलः ।
अभूदजितमानोपि च्छिङ्गलायां महीपतिः ॥ —[22].
पत्युर्भ्रमरशालमल्याश्छिङ्गला[न?]भूतिषण्डकौ[41] ।
वश्यौ व(ब)भूवतुः पूर्व्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].
आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोत्र-
12. क्रमोयम्महा-
नस्माकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्य ते पूर्व्वजाः ।
अस्मद्गोत्रभवात्कदाचिदनाद्युत्यानिकं[42] स्यादिदं
सत्यल्लीद्वयमित्यवेत्य चखनुः प्राशस्त्यवर्णानिमान् ॥[43]—[24].
यावत्प्रान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तत्रिलोकोच्छ्रयं[44]
चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(ब)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपतिः ।
13. यावल्लोकमिदृक्षयाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसत्यात्मभू-
र्गोत्रस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARÛPA.

By Arthur Venis, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares.

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.[1]

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gaṇeśa. The plates measure 9¾″ broad by 7″ high, and weigh together

[41] Here again the *akshara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

[42] This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to °चिदन व्यु°; and I believe the intended reading to be °चिदपि न व्यु°.

[43] Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[44] I am not sure whether the word रेचक of this line should be altered to मेचक.°

[1] All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.

2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛishṇadvârikâ Temple inscription at Gayâ (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanâgarî which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D." (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of श, ष, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śântipâṭaka and Mandarâ situated in the *vishaya* of Bâḍâ, in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrîdhara, the son of Yudhishṭhira and Pâî his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvâmitra, in the village of Bhâva in Vârendrî. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratâpadevî his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Râmapâla and Vigrahapâla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumârapâla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

Sûryavaṁśî Pâlas.	*Mantrins.*
I. Vigrahapâla.	1. Yogadeva.
II. Râmapâla (son of I).	2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
III. Kumârapâla (son of II).	3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pâlas than is given in the above table. Vigrahapâla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Râmapâla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Râmapâla conquered (or regained?) Mithilâ, and killed a certain raja Bhîma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumârapâla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kâmarûpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahârâjâdhirâja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *praśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *râjaguru* Murâri and Padmâ his wife. The *śâsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmâdhikârin*. It was engraved by Karṇabhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *ni*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śâsanaṁ*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulî* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanâman* of Śrîdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulî* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pâla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pâla dynasty, the reign of Mahîpâla from 1006 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapâla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pâla kings from Gopâla I. to Vigrahapâla III., based on the Âmgâchhî plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Âmgâchhî and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapâla, Râmapâla and Kumârapâla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pâla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahîpâla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapâla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapâla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.[2] Nayapâla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapâla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pâla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapâla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasaṁkrânti* fell (1) on *ekâdaśî* and (2) on *dvâdaśî* in Vaiśâkha (*kṛishṇapaksha*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekâdaśî* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvâdaśî* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumârapâla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

[2] Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumârapâla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapâla or not, we are not a liberty to count the years of Kumârapâla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapâla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumârapâla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pâlas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pâlas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pâlas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhûmi (Mithilâ) by Râmapâla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pâla line. And thus, too, the Pâla culmination under Kumârapâla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pâlas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pâla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

TEXT.

Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तम्भः कुम्भः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । हरिदन्तर-

[2.] मितमूर्त्तिः क्रीडापोत्री हरिर्ज्जयति[3] ॥[4] (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य जातवान पूर्व्वं[5] । विग्रहपा-

[3.] लो नृपतिः सर्व्वाकारद्विसंसिद्धः[6] ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योगदेव इति ख्यातः

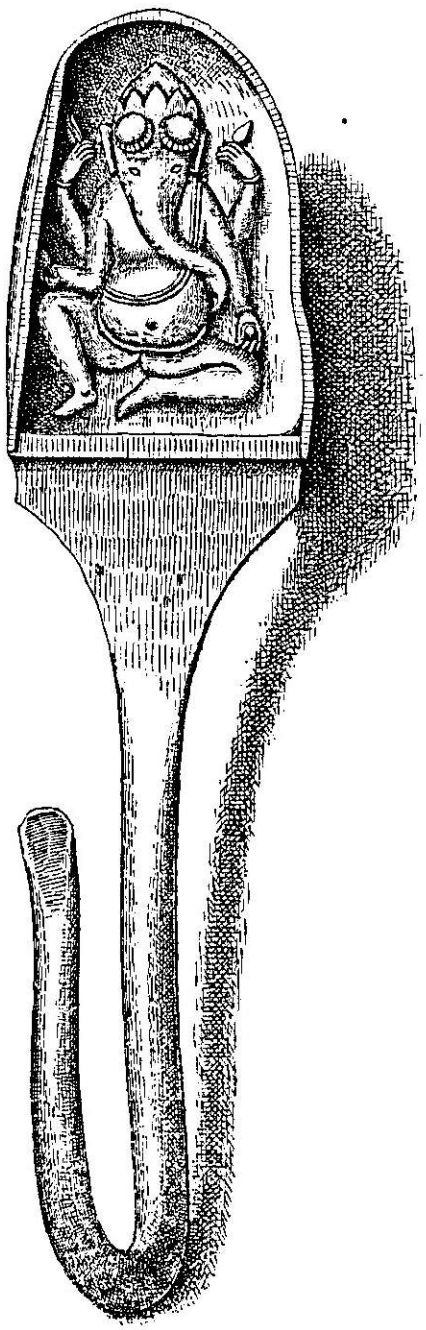
[4.] स्फुरद्दोर्द्दण्डविक्रमः ॥[7] (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य[8] नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुलाब्धिशी-

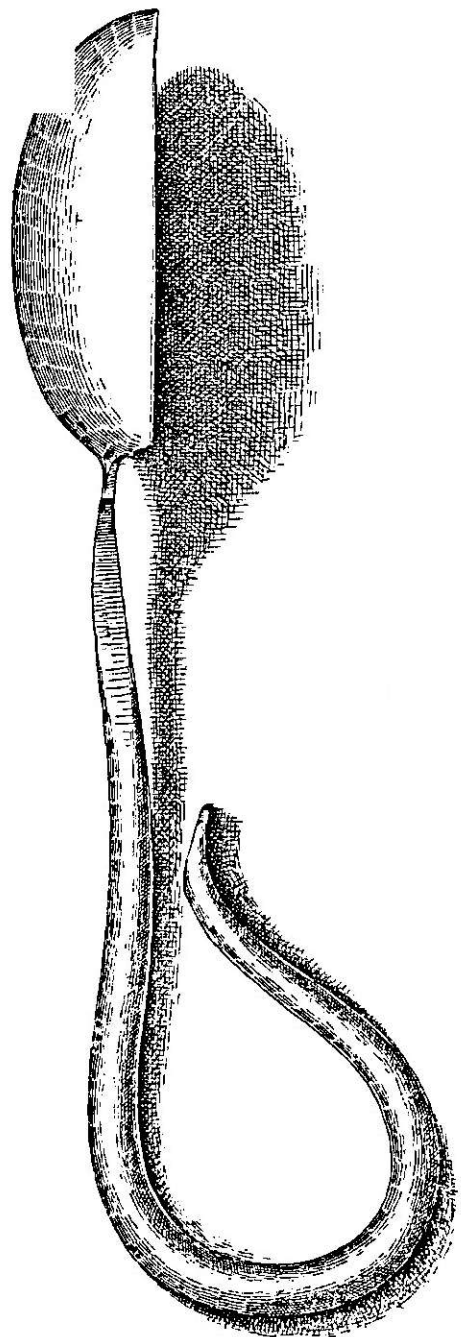
[5.] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक । तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यशः क्षोणीनायकभीम-

[3] Read °मूर्त्तिः and हरिर्ज्जयति
[4] Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyârjâ.
[5] Read जातवान् पूर्व्वम्.
[6] Read सर्व्वाकारर्द्धि°
[7] Metre: Śloka. (Pathyâvaktra.)
[8] Read तस्योर्ज्जस्व°

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.





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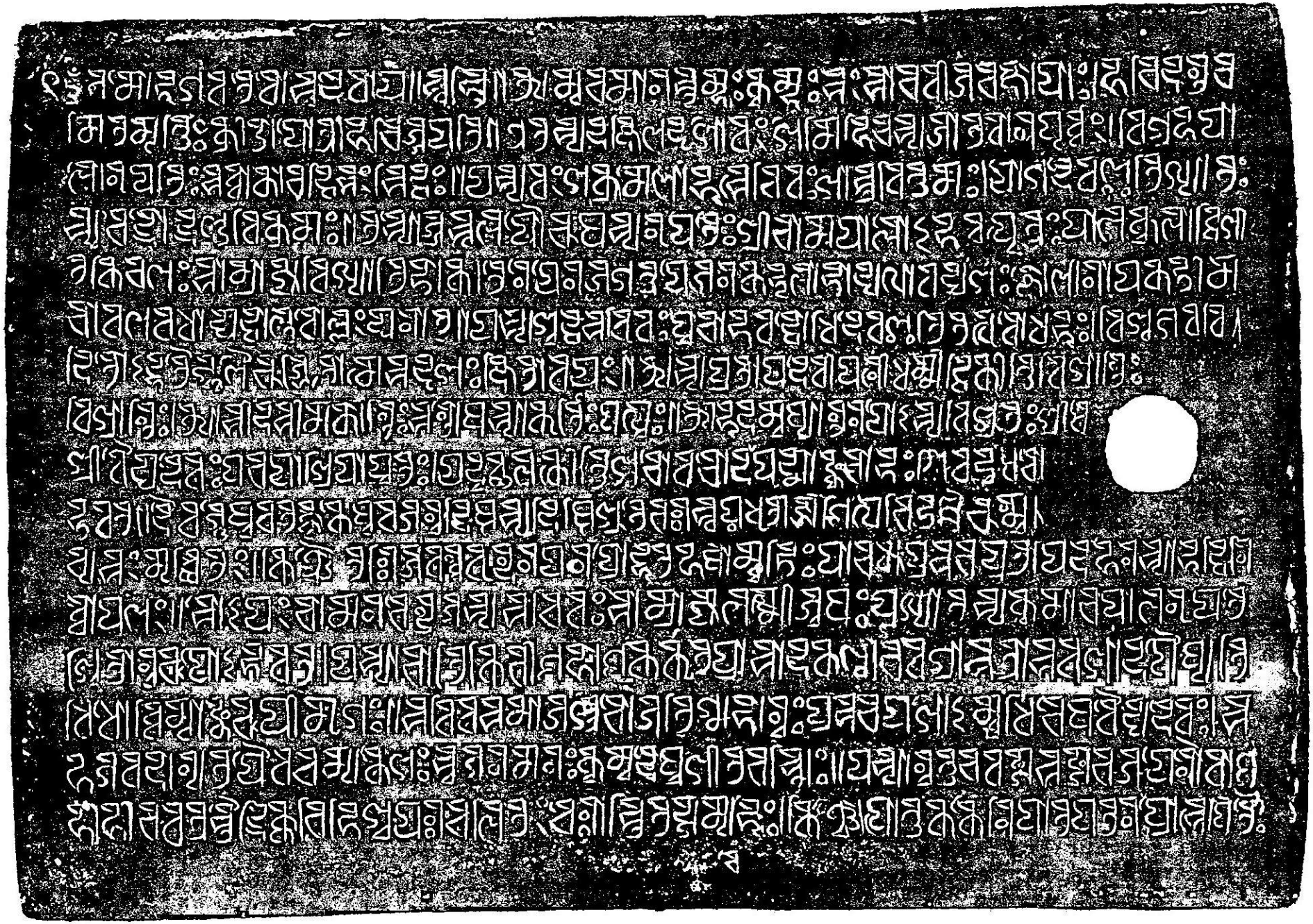


L. [6.] रावणवधाद्युद्धार्णवोल्लंघनात्[9] ॥[10] (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवद्बोधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधभूः। विश्वगेव वि-

[7.] दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुज्झितात्मसदृशः क्षितावयं[11] ॥[12] (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्म्मद्विकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः

[8.] विश्रान्तिः[13] । आसीदसीमकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याकृतिः पत्युः ॥[14] (6). अभूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य विश्रुतः श्रीवे-

[9.] श्रीवैद्यदेवः[15] परया श्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरीवरोद[16] पद्माङ्कुराभः शिवभूधरो-

[10.] भवत् ॥[17] (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्क्कुकेषु च जनुर्द्दिष्टस्य दिष्टिश्रुतेरन्त्रस्वप्नधृतीर्झटित्यरिभटैरुन्मु-

[11.] च्य संमूर्च्छितं । किञ्चैतन्निजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्गतहर्षाम्बुभिः पारक्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभूद्विनि-

[12.] र्व्वापणं[18] ॥[19] (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिवः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीजुषः प्रख्यातस्य कुमारपालनृपते-

[13.] श्चित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटकक्लृप्तप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति

[14.] विधोर्ब्बिम्बाङ्करूपी[20] मृगः॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरीजतिग्मभानुः[21] प्रसरयशोऽम्बुधिरेष वैद्यदेवः । स- ,

[15.] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सुजनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरश्मिः[22] ॥[23] (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये नौवाट-

[16] हीहीरवत्रस्तैर्द्विक्करिभिश्च[24] यत्र चलितं चेत्रास्ति तद्गम्यभूः । किञ्चोत्पातुककेनिपातपतनप्रोत्सर्पितैः

Plate II, A.

[17.] शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥[25] (11). गौडेशस्य कुमारपालनृपते-

[18.] र्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यतेजस्यतेः[26] त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्पतेः । सप्ताङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्वमभितः

[19.] संचिन्तयन्नुग्रधीः प्राणेभ्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे[27] हरिहरिद्भुवि स-

[20.] त्कृतस्य श्रीतिम्ग्यदेव[28]नृपतेर्व्विकृतिं निशम्य। गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्त्ति-

[21.] रयं नियुक्तः ॥[29] (13). स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोरुरतेजसः। कतिपयदिनैर्द्दत्वा[30] जिष्णुः प्रयाणमसौ

[9] Read °भाक्. °लङ्घनात्

[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Read तत्त्व° विष्वगेव °तावयम्

[12] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

[13] Read धर्म्मर्द्दिकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः.

[14] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[15] Read श्रीवैद्यदेवः

[16] Read °सरीवरोदरे. The रे is supplied from a *truṭi*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9.

[17] Metre: Upajâti of Vaṃśastha and Indravaṃśa.

[18] Read जनुर्द्दिष्टस्य, *i.e.* " of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva). संमूर्च्छितम् °निर्व्वापणम्

[19] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[20] Read विधोर्ब्बिम्बा°

[21] Read °सरीज°

[22] Read शीतरश्मिः

[23] Metre: ?

[24] Read °वस्तैर्द्दि°

[25] Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[26] Read °नृपतेर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्य°

[27] Read एतादृशी.

[28] This might be read तिङ्ग.

[29] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[30] Read °दिनैर्द्दत्वा and द्रुतम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा

L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतिन्निजभुजपरिष्पन्दैः[31] साक्षाद्दिक्स्वतिविक्रमः ॥(14).[32] ए-

[23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः खण्डिलप्राये व्योमतले क्षसमिकगणै-

[24.] र्लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानश्रमः । किञ्चाच्छिद्रयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियाखक्षमः सुत्रामा नय-

[25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥[33] (15) दोर्दण्डारणिजे[34] हविर्भुजि भटव्रातेन्धनैरेधिते

[26.] संग्रामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्स्रीफलैः ।[35] कृत्वा होमविधिं परक्षितिभु-

[27.] जा दत्वाथ[36] पूर्णाहुतिं लब्धोदग्रयशो[37] महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुरुसमर-मध्यात[38] खड्गघातो-

[28.] त्पतद्भिः परसुभटशिरोभिर्व्योम कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । झटिति विसरराहुव्यूहधीबिभ्यदर्कः स्व-

[29.] रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छ्रयन्[39] स्वं जुगोप ॥[40] (17). चन्द्रस्त्रीङ्गवभूर्महीध्रसरणं सत्वप्रधानाशयः पा-

[30.] त्रश्रीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलगृहं स्वान्तस्थित-

[31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽथवा लंघितः[41]॥[42] (18). ज्ञानैर्गीष्पतिरुजितैर्द्विनपतिः

[32.] सत्पौरुषैः श्रीपतिर्द्वैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्द्वानैः[43] स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चैतेपि गिरोपमानविषयाः

Plate II, B.

[33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद् ब्रुम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्व्वैर्गुणानां[44] गणैः ॥0॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुधदेव इत्यनुजभूः

[34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्तत्तदसीमनिर्म्मलगुणैर्द्धर्म्मद्विशीलद्विभूः[45] । दानैः शोभनपल्लवैर्द्विज[46]-

[35.] कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरुद्रुप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यजृम्भायसाः[47] ॥ (20). अथाभ-

[36.] वत कौषिकसञ्ज्ञको मुनिमुनीन्द्रमुख्यो[48] निजगोत्रपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्यचयभमश्रमात्

[37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थितं[49] ॥[50] (21). एतद्वंसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजातिर्भावग्रामे

[38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोग्रे वरेन्द्रां अस्तामन्यद्गुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमाचाद्यद्वाग्नोऽ-

[39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्ण्णषानां प्रपञ्चः[51] ॥[52] (22). अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-

[40.] त्यभवत्सुधीश्वरः[53] । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रोत्रियत्वविलसद्यशोनिधिः ।[54] (23). पार्द्द-

[41.] ति धर्म्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्तिः शीलौदार्यश्रीयां[55]

[31] Read महीपतिर्न्निज°.

[32] Metre: Hariṇî.

[33] Metre of verses 15 and 16: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[34] Read दोर्द्दण्डा°.

[35] Read °लसच्छ्रीफलैः

[36] Read दत्त्वाथ

[37] Read लब्धोदग्रयश्री.

[38] Read °मध्यात्

[39] Read °शिरोभिर्व्योम °प्रोच्छ्रयन्

[40] Metre: Mâlinî.

[41] Read महीध्रसरणं सत्त्व° लङ्घितः

[42] Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[43] Read °रुर्जितैर्द्विन° श्रीपतिर्द्वैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्द्वानैः.

[44] Read ब्रूमः and सर्वैर्गु°.

[45] Read °सत्तदसीम° °धर्म्मद्विशीलद्वि°

[46] The var. lect. सत्फलपल्लवैः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate; and शोभन° is cut out in the text.

[47] Read कल्पमहीरुद्रुप्रतिकृतिर्द्दोर्व्वीर्य्यचञ्चयशाः । जृम्भा° is cut out in the body of the plate, and चञ्चय (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

[48] Read °भवत् कौशिक° °मुनिर्मु°

[49] Read °भमश्रमात् and स्थितम्.

[50] Metre: Vaṃśastha.

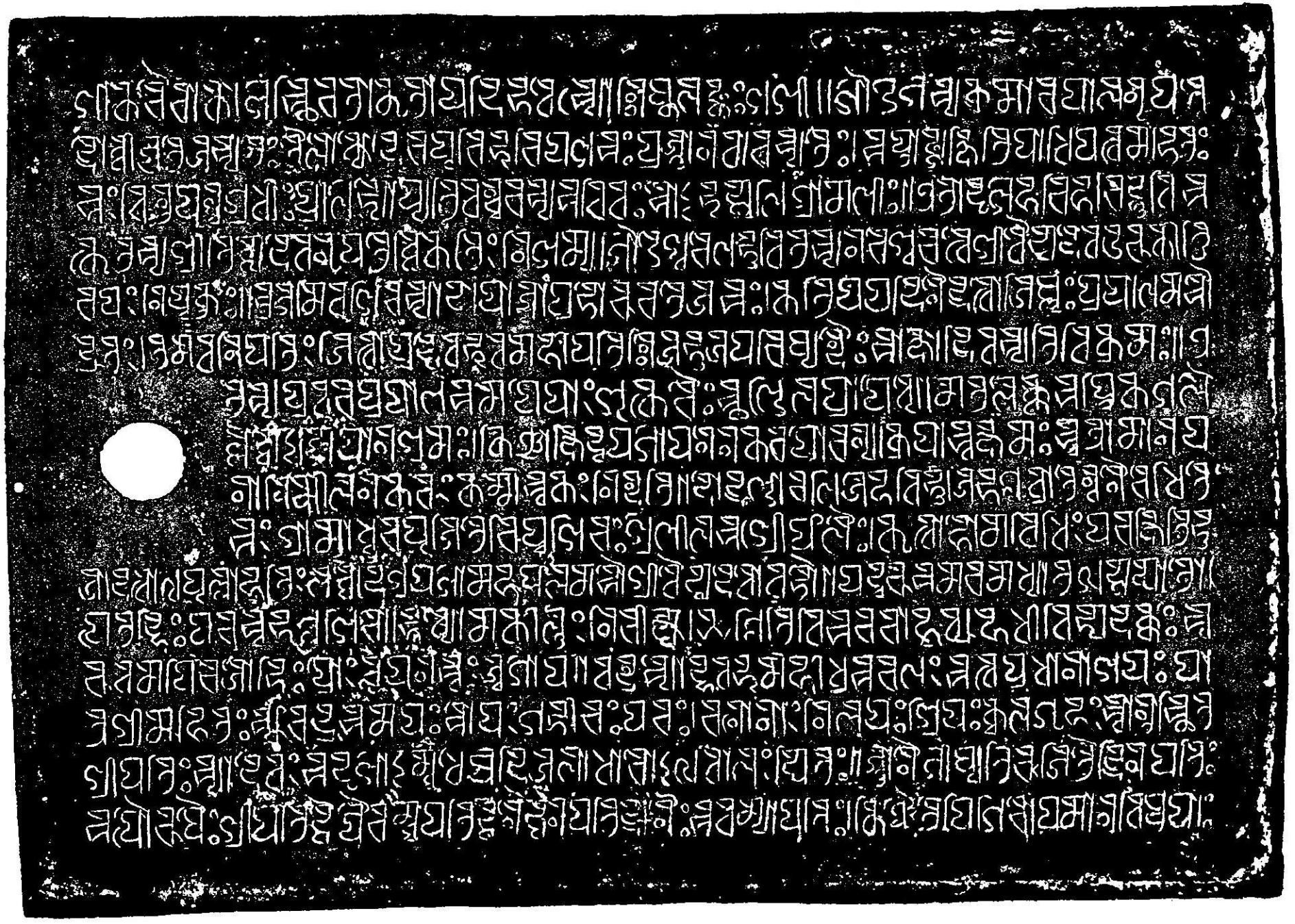
[51] Read एतद्वंशे . . प्रादुरासीद . . प्रविसरयशाः . . . वरेन्द्राम् । आस्तामन्य°. किल्लिषाणां.

[52] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

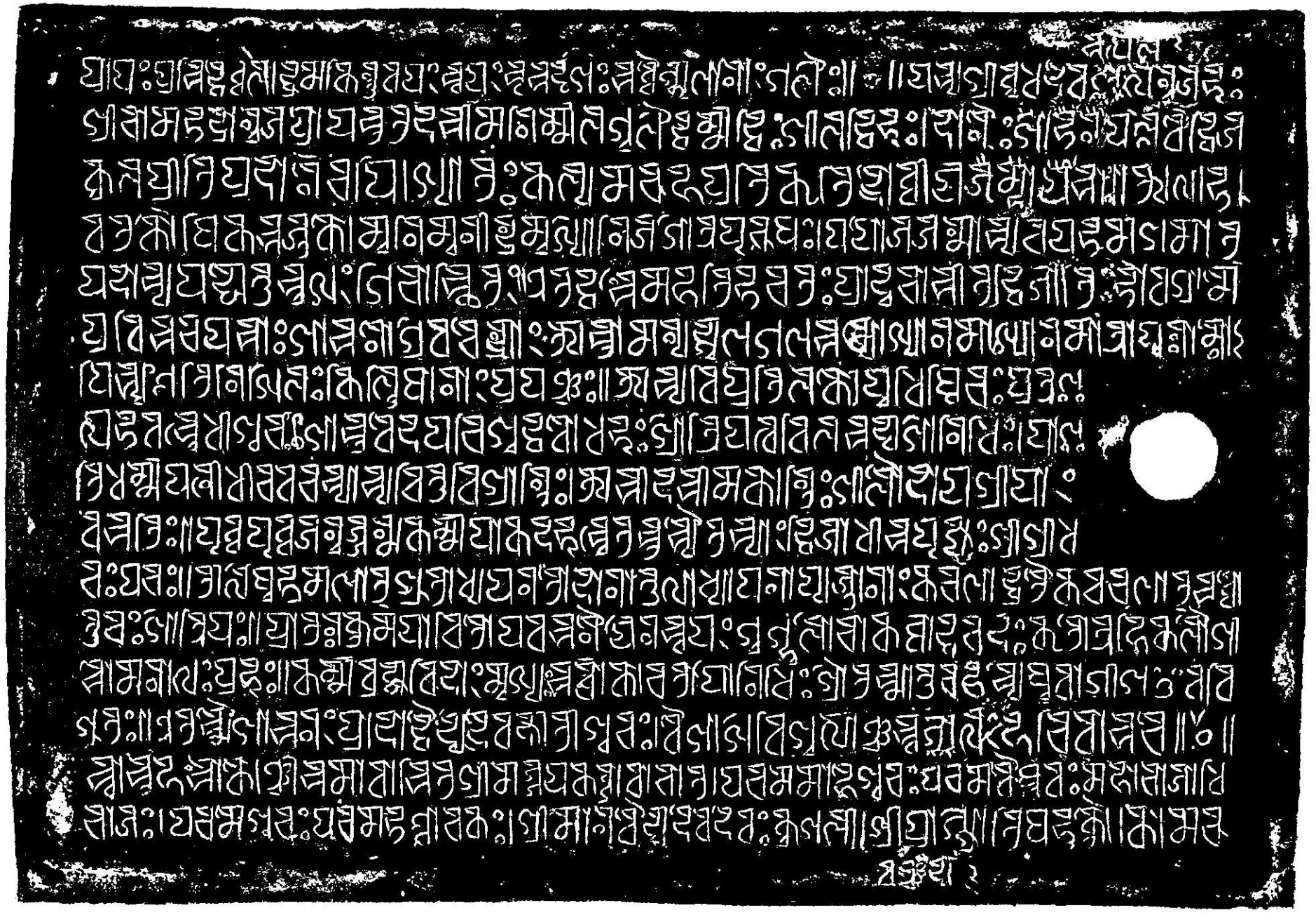
[53] °भवत्सुधीश्वरः is faulty metre.

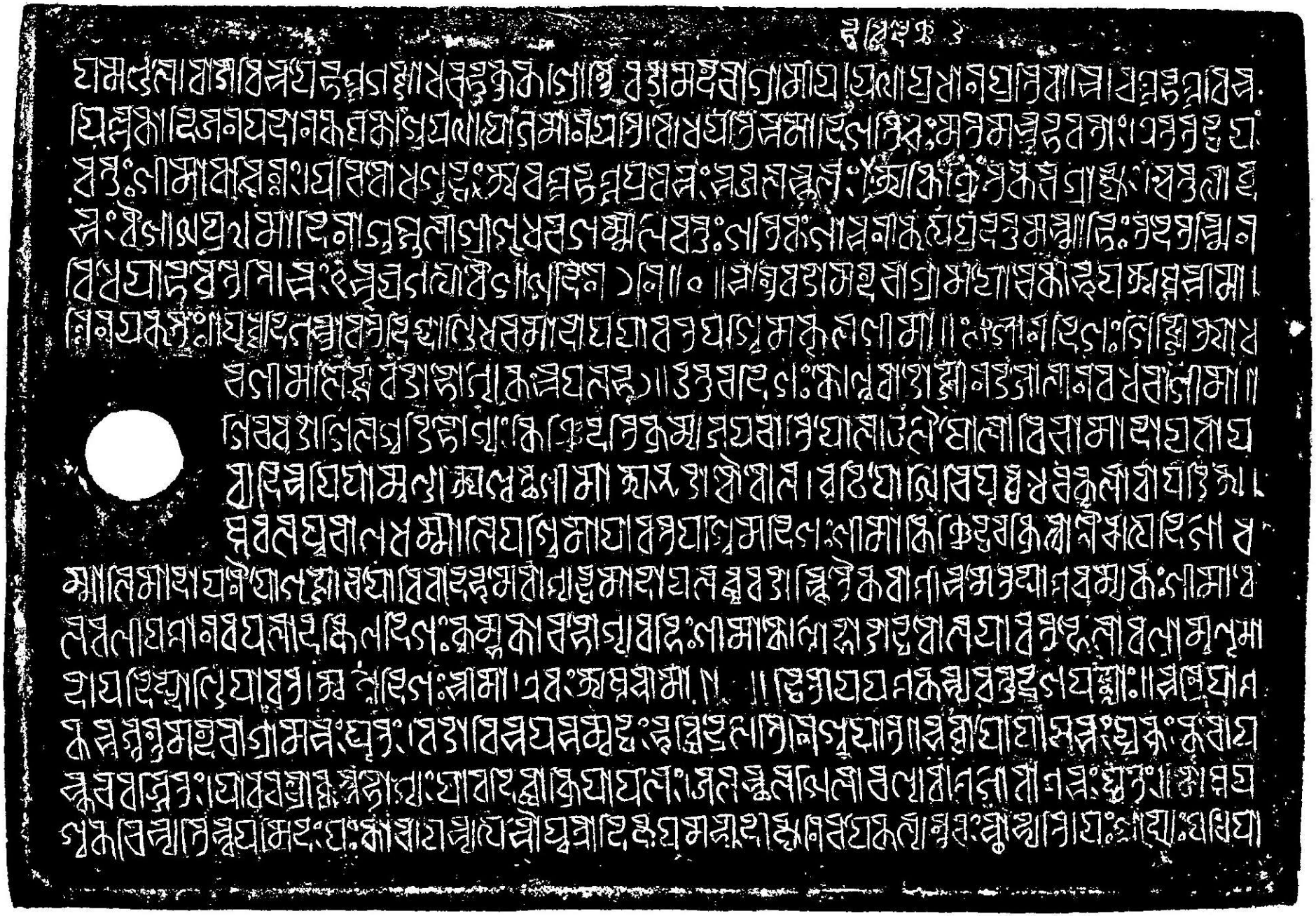
[54] Metre: Rathoddhatâ.

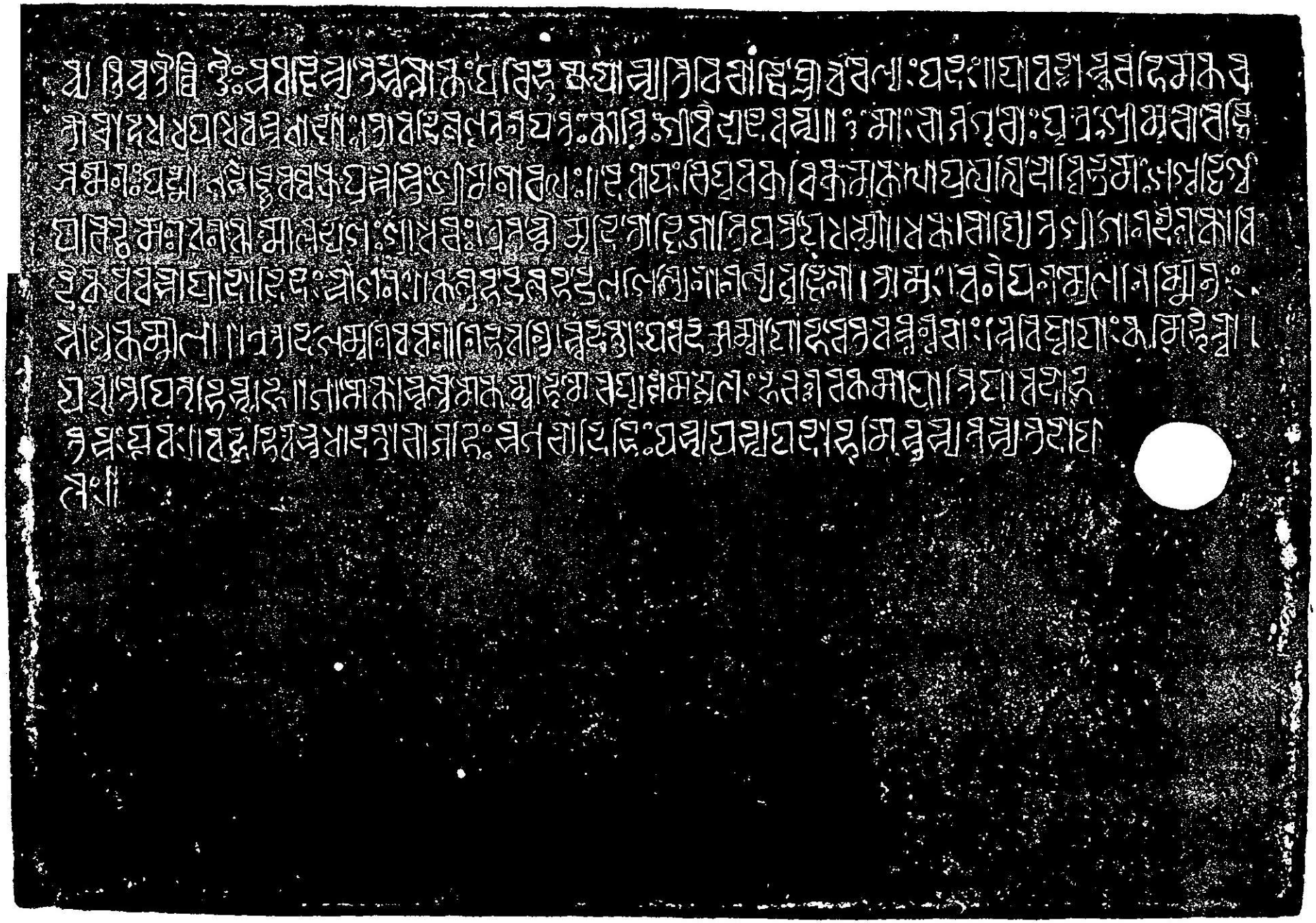
[55] Read आसीद° . . शीलौदार्यश्रियां.



Size of original







Size of original.

L. [42.] वसतिः ॥[56] (24). पूव्वपूव्वजनुज्जन्मकर्म्मपाकदभूत्सुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्यः[57] श्रीश्रीध-

[43.] रः परः ॥[58] (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां[59] करणाद्व्रतै-

[44.] कचरणात् सव्वो-

[45.] त्तरः शोत्रियः ॥ प्रातन्नक्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्य्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलोराकर्षाद्वरदः कृतोत्र हि कलौ शो-

[45.] सोमनाथः[60] प्रभुः ॥[61] (26). कर्म्मब्रह्मविदां मुख्यः सर्व्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्येषु[62]

[46.] वागीश इव वि-

[46.] श्रुतः ॥[63] (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्वैद्यदेवक्षीतीश्वरः । वैशाखे विशुत्याञ्च[64] स्वर्गार्थं हरि-

वासरे ॥0॥ (28).

[47.] स्वस्ति हंसाकोच्चीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात[65] । परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः महा-

राजाधि-

[48.] राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान[66] वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्तौ। कामरू-

Plate III, A.

[49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-

वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-

[50.] यिल्लकादिजनपदान कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवतां । एतत द्वयं

[51.] चतुःशीमावच्छिन्नं । परिबोधशुद्धं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेसं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चितकर-

ग्राह्यं[67] । चतुर्थाब्द

[52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीशृधरशर्म्मणे[68] चतुःशतिकं शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः तदेतस्मिन[69]

[53.] विधेया भवेतेति । सं ४ सूर्य्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-

कीभूय अष्टसीमा-

[54.] न्निनयकृतः ॥ पूव्वदिशस्तावत दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-

नदिशः शिङ्गिआध-

[55.] रशीमालिङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥

[56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उणैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-

[57.] व्यदिस पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अभडाचौवोल । वुढिपोखिरिपूर्व्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-

[58.] ष्टवलपुराणधर्म्मालि पश्चिमायावत पश्चिमदिशःशीमा किञ्चिद्वरक्रित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

[56] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[57] Read पूर्व्वपूर्व्वजनुर्ज्जन्मकर्म्मपाकादभूत्सुतः । द्विजाधीशपूज्यः

[58] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[59] Read तथाध्यापनाद्यज्ञानां

[60] Read सर्व्वोत्तरः श्रोत्रियः . प्रातन्न° . . श्रीसोमनाथः

[61] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[62] Read °निधिः । श्रौतस्मार्त्त°.

[63] Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyâvaktra.

[64] Read °क्षिती° विषुवत्याञ्च.

[65] Read °श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्.

[66] Read श्रीमान्.

[67] Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविषये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवाडामन्दराग्रामीययथाप्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिल्लकादिजनपदान् कर्षकांश्च यथात्यागं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्द्वयं चतुश्शीमावच्छिन्नं परिरोधशुद्धम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्यं.

[68] Read श्रीश्रीधर° With the परिबोध of the text (l. 3) compare the Pâli form पालिबोध = hindrance.

[69] Read तदेतस्मिन्.

L. [59.] म्मालिमादाय नैपोश्रृङ्गारयो विवादभूमेर्वाव्यर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-
चम्पकः श्रीमा वे-

[60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्यवह्निः श्रीमा कोण्टोहाडादुध्रवोलयावत
हेलावणामुण्डमा-

[61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिशः सीमा । एवं अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुर्दश-
पङ्क्तयाः ॥ सन्तिपाट-

[62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात ॥[70] (29). सव्वायोपाय-
संयुक्तं करोप-

[63.] स्करवज्जितं । । यावचन्द्राक्कसभोग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-
गोवाटसंयुतं[71] ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-

[64.] श्च करिस्यति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिस्यत्यसौ पुत्रादिक्षयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्पान्तरं स्थास्यति ।
यः श्लाघ्यः परिपा—

Plate III, B.

[65.] स्यति सुतैर्व्वितैः स वड्डिस्यते स्वल्लोकं परिभुज्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्यं पदं॥[72] (31).
यावद्भास्करहिमकर-

[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाद्याः । तावद्विलशतु नृपतेः कीर्त्तिः[73] श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य[74] ॥ (32). इमां
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीमुरारेर्द्वि-

[67.] जन्मनः पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथः[75] ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-
दोर्व्विभ्रमः शश्वद्दिश्व-

[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवोन्मीलद्यशः श्रीधरः । एतस्मै मुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्म्माधिकाराप्पितश्री-
गोनन्दनकोवि-

[69.] दैवावचसा प्रादादिदं शासनं[76] ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानल्पबुद्धिना । ताम्रं
विनयनम्रेण निर्म्मितं

[70.] साधुकर्म्मणा[77] ॥ (35). एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा

[71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्सह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकम्वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाङ्ग-

[72.] तसंप्लवं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

[73.] लं[78] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vâsudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (*i.e.* is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vigrahapâla, perfect in every accomplishment.

[70] Read° सन्न° °संयुतम् °विषय° निश्चयात्.

[71] Read सव्वायो°°वर्ज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्रार्कसंभोग्यं °फलम्° °संयुतम्

[72] Read कोष्ठे करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपालयिष्यति सुतैर्व्वि° वड्डिष्यते स्वर्लोकं पदम् ॥ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[73] Read °भूधरपयोधि° °लसतु कीर्त्तिः

[74] Metre: Pathyâryâ.

[75] Read प्रशस्तिं. Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[76] Read °दोर्व्वि° °लद्यशाः शासनम्. Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[77] Metre: Pathyâvaktra.

[78] Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा °मङ्गुलम्। संप्लवम् फलम् ।

(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śâstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Râmapâla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pâla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathâvat*), Râmapâla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,[79] (as Râma gained Janakabhû, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sîtâ); and by killing king Bhîma,[80] as Râma killed Râvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Râma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhideva was Râmapâla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratâpadevî, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailâsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumârapâla, who was the son of the king Râma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champakâ (*i.e.* Karṇa); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vaṅga,[81] if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumârapâla the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

[79] *i.e.* Mithilâ. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

[80] I cannot identify the name.

[81] *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Nauvâṭa* see Dr. Hultzsch,—*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.

(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few-days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,[82] to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *araṇi*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pûrṇâhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Râhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalâdhâra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala* = *jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jalâdhâra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Râma*)—(for *in other points the comparison holds, thus*—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Mainâka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahîdhra*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pâtra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmî, and he of wealth (*śrî*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was Vṛihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champâ (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc.* Vṛihaspati etc.) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*girâ*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother [83] was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Râma (*viz.* Lakshmaṇa) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharmma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

[82] It is his *karman* = (*prârabdha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

[83] *Anujabhûḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujâ bhûḥ* (*utpattiḥ*) *yasya so anujabhûḥ*.

(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatî rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brahmâ.

(22.) In his great *vaṁśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhâva,[84] in Varendrî appeared Bharata, a Brâhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishṭhira, chief of Brâhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śâstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pâî of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrîdhara, honoured among Brâhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tîrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrîdhara was chief among learned Brâhmaṇas. Through Śrîdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kâṇḍa* and the *Jñâna-kâṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrîdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śṛuti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrîdhara, at the Vishuvatî (*saṁkrânti*) in Vaiśâkha on Ekâdaśî, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].[85]

(29.) As determined by the *bhûmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipâṭaka[86] is joined to the village Mandarâ and belongs to the Baḍâ-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyâ*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

[84] *Śâsnogre* I take equal to *Ugraśasane*, the commoner bahuvrîhi.

[85] The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side *B*) after *harivâsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitîyapaṭakasya chaturddaśapaṅktyâḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

[86] Translation doubtful. Dr. Kielhorn explains *pâṭaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135) which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the *pâṭaka* adjoining the village Mandarâ and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍâ; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be Śânti; [cf. III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of Śânti is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipâṭakasaṁjñaṁ* an adjective to Śâsanaṁ in verse 28: (observe also *idaṁ* in verse 31).

(33.) Manoratha, son of the brâhmaṇa *rajaguru* Murâri, and Padmâ, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrîdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śâsana to that brâhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmâdhikârin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail! From the victorious camp at Haṁsâkoñchî, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishṇu, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Parameśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śânti-Baḍâ *and* Mandarâ possessed by Gaṅgâdhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *vishaya* of Baḍâ, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa in the *bhukti* of Prâgjyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrîdhara Śarmâ (surnamed) Guggulî in ? ? . . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśâkha by the movement of the sun.[87]

. . . . . [88]

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karṇabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis[89]:—

XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By Arthur Venis, M.A., Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares.

No. I.[1]—Dated Saṁvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basâhi grant of Saṁvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.[2] The plate is 1′ 6″ long by 11″ broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basâhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śaṁkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nâgarî characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhûva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchhandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

[87] See above, p. 349.

[88] Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

[89] The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

[1] As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

[2] See Râjendralâla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1885) for the Basâhi plate.

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahîyalasutaḥ*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutah* or *Mahiâla-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,[3] *viz.* Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kârttika, 1162 Saṁvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishṇupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvatî-pattalâ in the Pañchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vîlhâkâya Dîkshita, who came originally from Sâvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravâsa and grandson of Nâgânanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula *gotra* with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvâmitra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्दीयमान . . . दशव (ब) धविशतिकवथाकेरे तुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृति . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadâsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pratîhara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jâgûka, the *mahattaka* Vâlhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Râlhadevî.

Text.

Front.

Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्यं सर्व्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्महे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रीव क्रोडान्तःस्थं वलित्रयी ॥ (1).[4] वंसे गाहडवालाख्ये बभूव विजयी नृपः ॥[5]

[2.] महीयलसुतः श्रीमान्बलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).[6] याते श्रीभोजभूपे विबुधवरवधूनेत्रसीमातिथित्वं[7] श्रीकर्णे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्ष्मात्यये जायमाने ।

[3.] भर्त्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता त्राता विश्वस्य पूर्व्वं समभवदिह स क्ष्मापतिश्चंद्रदेवः[8] (3).[9] ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिपदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः क्षोणीपति-

[4.] र्मदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त बभुशः समरप्रबन्धाः सन्वर्त्तितप्रहतशत्रुकबन्धबन्धाः[10] ॥ (4).[11] तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृंदवंद्यपादारविंदयुगलो ज्व-

[5.] लितप्रतापः । क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरंगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र[12] इति विश्रुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5)[13]॥ तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्तसौर्यैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणक्किणश्रेणी म-

[3] Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—"For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *tithi* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day."

[4] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Read वंशे . . नृपः

[6] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read विबुध.

[8] Read चन्द्रदेवः

[9] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[10] Read बहुशः. °प्रबन्धा . कबन्धबन्धाः

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] Read °इन्दवन्द्यपादारविन्द° रिपुरङ्गभङ्गी गोविन्दचन्द्र°

[13] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्यते ॥ (6).[14] संवत्सहस्रैके द्विषष्ठ्युत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्त्तिकशैर्णमास्यां भौमे दिने ऽङ्केपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भौमे[15] अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-

[7.] विजयकटके सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मंत्रदेवऋषिमनुष्य-भूतपितॄंस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महश्व-

[8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । मंत्रपूतं भुतवह हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीआ-वतीपत्तलायां उसिथागामे समस्तविषयसार्ध्ववर्त्तिसमस्त-

[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्संबोधयति समाज्ञापयति ॥[16] यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचर-पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सगर्त्तोषरपाषाणः स-

[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्तः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्ज्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।

[11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवित[17] विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य । जलवुद्बुदाकारं यौवनं परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-

[12.] त् संसारमसारतरं[18] समाकलय्य ॥ साविथदेशनिर्गताय वाजसनेयसाखोद्भगाय वंधुलगोत्राय वधुल अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रत्रिप्रवराय[19] ॥

[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्क-राय[20] दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । श्रद्धाविशुद्धमनसा

[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमद्गोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्त्तिक्यां निमित्ते सम्यगाजूयास्मै ब्राह्मणार्या मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-

[15.] वृद्धये चंद्रार्कक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः[21] ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिकुवथाकेरे तुरु-

[16.] ष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्व्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मै निसेदनीय[22] ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले कि वा परस्मित्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-

[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्व्वामात्रमपि स्वधर्म्मनिरता दत्त सदा पाल्यता वायुर्वास्यति तस्थ्यति प्रतपन श्रुत्व मुनीना वचः[23] ॥ (7).[24] अत्राथ पौराणिकाः

[18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि[25] यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).[26] योर्च्चितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्च्चि-

[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्ग नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). वहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-रादिभिः । यस्य सत्य यदा भुगिस्तम्य तस्य वदा

[20.] फलं[27] ॥ (10). यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवत्तत्प्रति मानि[28] तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).[29] अस्मत्कुलं पर-

[14] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Read °पौर्णमास्यां and १५ instead of ५.

[16] Read गङ्गायां मन्त्रदेवऋषिमनुष्यभूतपितॄंस्तर्पयित्वा . . महेश्वरं . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं° पञ्चालं° °ग्रामे °पार्श्ववर्त्ति °पदान् सम्बोध°; remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

[17] Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल ; and read प्राणिनां जीवितं.

[18] Read बुद्बुदा° °सारतरं.

[19] Read °शाखामृगाय वन्धुलाघमर्ष°

[20] Read °नागानन्द° यजुर्वेद°

[21] Read श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवेन . . सम्यगाज्ञया° . ब्राह्मणार्याय . . °रात्मन° . . चन्द्रार्कक्षितिपवनाम्बराणि . . शासनीकृत्य.

[22] Read °सर्व्वादायान् °निवेदनीयम्

[23] Read परस्मिन्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाञ्जलिर्विरचिती नादेयमस्मात् कियत् । . स्वधर्म्म °दत्तं . पाल्यतां तस्थ्यति . श्रुत्वा मुनीनां

[24] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[25] Read भूमिं

[26] Metre: Śloka (Anushṭubh), and in the two following verses.

[27] Read वहुभिर्व° . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥

[28] Read निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि

[29] Metre: Indravajrâ.